

SCOTLAND'S STORY



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Bonnie Prince Charlie comes to claim a crown

Fateful decision that led to defeat

The Scots who supported the Hanoverians

The culture of the Jacobites

The people who care for our national heritage



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In Part 34:
The Battle
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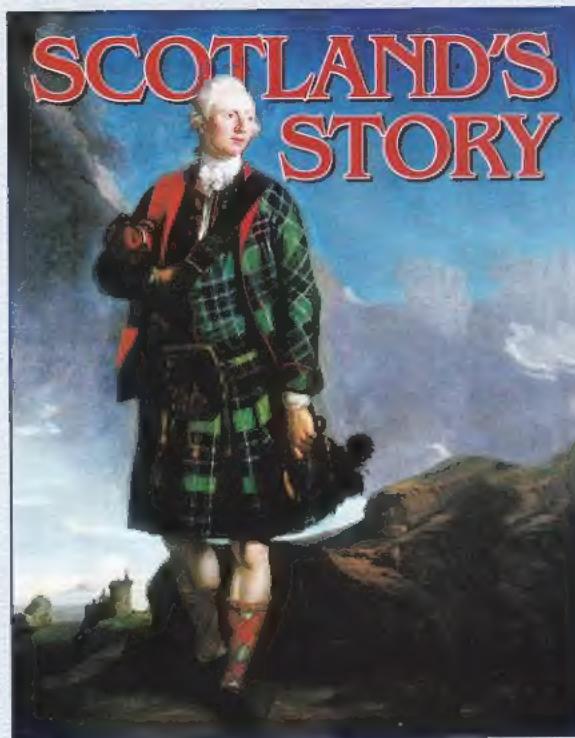
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COVER:
Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat was one of several Highland chiefs who did not support the Jacobite cause in 1745.

The nation's last Civil War

Historians used to be able to argue, indeed some still do, that the 1745 Jacobite Rising was nothing more than a fringe rebellion – supported only by a few backward-looking Highland clans, whose leaders knew they were destined to fail.

But recent decades have witnessed the emergence of more sophisticated studies of Scotland in the half-century after Union, recasting the '45 in a more balanced light.

This was the nation's last Civil War. The 'cold war' that had gone on between pro and anti-government factions since the 1688-9 Revolution turned into a 'hot' one in 1745, as it had done previously in 1691, 1708 and 1715. Many thousands of people risked a grizzly death by fighting in Jacobite armies, and many others had everything to lose by supporting the cause in other ways.

At present, there are few who would argue against the notion that people do not generally engage in armed rebellion against a government unless they are absolutely convinced of the legitimacy of their cause and its chances of success. In this respect, there are parallels to be drawn

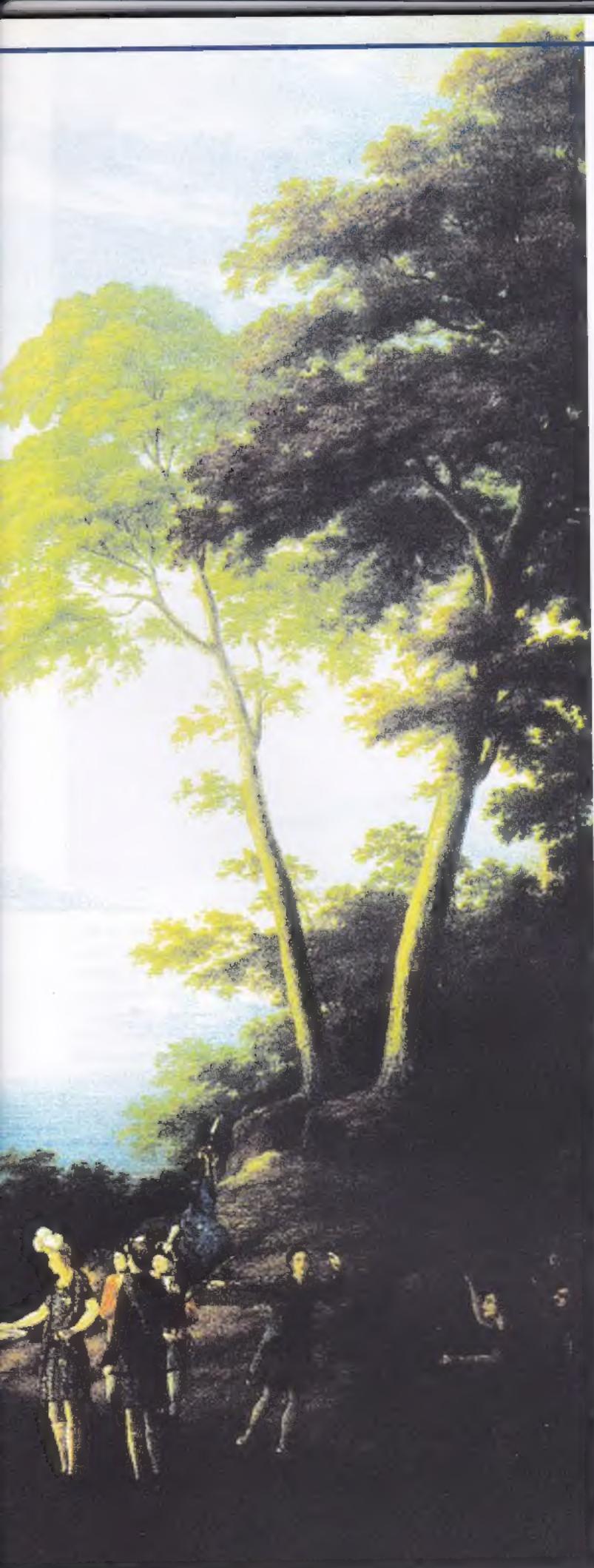
between Jacobitism and the 17th-century Covenanters. Indeed, had their ideology not been largely vindicated by developments in 1689 and 1707, the Wars of the Covenant may also have been consigned to similar historical diminution.

Recent scholarship has shown that in the Highlands, which contained around half Scotland's population in 1745, support for Jacobitism was still underpinned – rightly or wrongly – by a historical conviction that the Stuart monarchy were the guardians of Gaelic society. Of course the Highlands were divided, with several clan chiefs having settled for the Hanoverian status quo. Yet many of these vacillated in the event, their people retaining mostly Jacobite convictions.

The most significant recent development has been to reveal the extent of Lowland support for Jacobitism in 1745. It is not difficult to account for the strong pulling power Jacobitism still had there. It remained the most effective vehicle for continued widespread opposition to the 1688-89 Revolution settlement, Hanoverian rule and the Anglo-Scottish Union.



■ Moment of high drama at Loch nan Uamh: Prince Charles Edward Stuart arrives from France to win a throne – with only the support of the seven legendary heroes of Moidart.



Decision at Derby shatters the dream

The Prince's bid for a crown ends in disarray as victory was in his grasp. Or was it?

The '45 is an epic moment in Scottish history, and a major turning point in that of Britain. It is also the classic instance of counter-factual or 'what if' history.

What if Charles Edward Stuart, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', had marched on from Derby? Would Hanoverian Britain have fallen? What differences would this have brought for Scottish, English and British history?

The Stuarts had placed their hopes of a restoration on French assistance. France and Britain went formally to war in 1744 and the French mounted an invasion attempt, but it was dispersed by a storm.

Disappointed with French reluctance to back a second attempt, Prince Charles Edward came to support the idea of a Scottish rising and of his going it alone without French assistance. He planned to exploit continued Scottish hostility to the Union, and hoped the French could be encouraged to intervene militarily if a rising had already broken out.

This ignored the argument of the Scottish Jacobites that the Prince should come only if accompanied by a substantial force: 6,000 men and

the funds to pay them. No such force accompanied Charles Edward when he landed in July, 1745, and he was also short of money.

The Prince had set sail with two ships, but one, carrying much of the supplies, had to turn back after it was intercepted by a British warship.

Nevertheless, his arrival was followed by a rising. The 'Seven Men of Moidart', who landed at Eriksay on July 23, had swelled to 1,300 when Charles Edward raised his standard at Glenfinnan on August 19.

He made a speech in which he declared that he had come to Scotland to make his subjects happy. This claim may have sounded somewhat strange to some of his listeners, who had been raised only by the threat from their clan leader that otherwise their dwellings would be burnt over their heads.

Much of Scotland was reluctant to join the rising.

The '45 is usually seen as a Highland rising that enjoyed only patchy support in the Lowlands. In fact, the Highlands were deeply divided.

Several of the most important and relatively wealthy clans supported the government, which could count on the Campbells, Mackays, Munros ▶



■ Highland onslaught: Hanoverian General Sir John Cope's troops are routed at Prestonpans. The painting shows the death of Colonel Gardiner.



■ Look of defeat: General Cope sketched by Marquess Townsend.

► and Sutherlands. More worrying for Charles Edward was the fact that several Jacobite clans provided no support for him, while those that did commonly hedged their bets to some extent.

This most frequently took the form of the refusal of the clan leader to commit himself, so that the clan support for the Prince was generally led by a kinsman of the leader.

But the Prince's appointments of Lord George Murray and the Duke of Perth as lieutenant-generals was a touch of good fortune.

Hostilities began on August 14, when a party of soldiers on their way to reinforce Fort William was

captured. At the Jacobite war council, held at Glenfinnan on August 19, it was decided to attack the government army under Sir John Cope as soon as the Jacobite force was prepared.

Manoeuvring without engaging in a decisive battle – which was the key to the Highlanders' type of war – had been fatal to Mar during the '15, while a siege of a stronghold such as Fort William would take time, be difficult without artillery, and possibly entail heavy casualties if there was a reliance on storm.

The Jacobites soon discovered they might get the battle they sought sooner than expected.

Cope, who had left Edinburgh on August 19 and Stirling on the 21st, was marching towards Fort Augustus.

On August 27, Charles Edward blocked Cope's route towards the Great Glen by seizing the head of the Corrieyairack Pass and, fearing ambush, Cope decided not to attempt it.

Cope's force was small because he had left troops to strengthen the garrisons of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling. And because the pro-Hanoverian clansmen he had looked to for reinforcements did not arrive – a fact he subsequently employed to account for his failure.

Cope had taken 1,000 weapons with him for reinforcements that never came – neither the Duke of

Atholl nor Lord Glenorchy were at the agreed meeting place at Crieff with the force Cope had expected.

Cope retreated towards Inverness, leaving the way open to Charles Edward, who reached Blair Castle on August 31 and Dunkeld on September 3. Charles Edward entered Perth on the 4th, where he proclaimed his father king.

The British army in Scotland, part of a military establishment weakened by the need to send most of its troops to resist the French in the Austrian Netherlands (modern Belgium), had been totally outmanoeuvred, and Charles Edward was able to capture Edinburgh on September 17.

The ignominious retreat of two regiments of royal dragoons to Dunbar, after an exchange of fire with the Jacobite army west of Edinburgh, had pushed the magistrates towards surrender, although the city could have been defended.

Cope, in turn, had marched from Inverness to Aberdeen before sailing to Dunbar. Having obtained much-needed supplies in the city, the Prince left Edinburgh on the 19th and routed Cope's army at Prestonpans on September 21.

After Prestonpans, Charles Edward consolidated his position around Edinburgh, while his opponents assembled an army under the elderly Field-Marshal George

Wade at Newcastle. Charles Edward had wanted to invade at once, but was told by his officers that his army was too weak and tired to pursue Cope to Berwick.

At this point the Prince had little over 2,000 men. Some would have to be left in Edinburgh, which otherwise might be retaken by the determined Castle garrison. Wade was familiar with northern Britain, but he proved too slow moving to cope with Charles Edward, who invaded England via Carlisle, which fell on November 15 after a five-day siege.

Carlisle's defences were unimpressive, but even had they been the defending force was insufficient in number and lacked civilian support.

Wade's attempt to march via Hexham to Carlisle's relief was hampered by the winter weather, and was too slow and too late.

The Jacobites pressed on towards London, advancing unopposed through Penrith (November 18), Lancaster, Preston and Manchester. Their advance was more similar to that of the Scots in 1648 than the Jacobites in 1715, but, unlike on both the former occasions, the advancing force outmarched its opponents.

The ability of armies to respond differently to similar strategic parameters, and the role of leadership, were demonstrated in



■ Dissolute force: a painting by Hogarth depicts the government army gathered at Finchley to defend London in the worst possible light.

these three advances. By December another army was assembled to confront the Jacobites. Commanded by George II's younger son, William, Duke of Cumberland, this force was out-maneuvred – misled by deliberately-circulated reports that the Jacobites intended to advance on Chester and North Wales.

Cumberland moved to block such an advance and, therefore, failed to stop a Jacobite march on Derby, which they entered unopposed on the afternoon of December 4.

At that point, the Jacobites held the strategic initiative and were also in a central position, while their opponent's forces were divided.

Wade's army was still in Yorkshire and Cumberland's was exhausted by its marches. The government was assembling a new army on Finchley Common to protect London, but it was a relatively small force.

Nevertheless, the Highland chiefs were disappointed by the lack of the support promised them by Charles Edward – both assistance from English Jacobites and the absence of a French landing in southern England. At the Jacobite council at



■ Swarkestone Bridge near Derby was the Highlanders' end point.

Manchester on November 30, the Prince had said the French would invade on December 9.

Now, on December 5, Lord George Murray argued that even if Cumberland did not catch up and the army at Finchley – whose strength he greatly exaggerated – was defeated, the Jacobites would be beaten by the London militia. It was an unlikely eventuality.

In the absence of English or French support, he pressed for return, despite Charles Edward's

argument that a bold advance would undermine the regime. After bitter debate, the chiefs forced Charles Edward to turn back and he began his withdrawal north on December 6. This, not Culloden, really signalled the end of the '45.

Clearly, to march on would have posed problems and these seemed more immediate at Derby than they had done at Carlisle, Preston and Manchester, when it had been possible to hope for English and French assistance. However, Murray

and the other members of the council, failed to consider adequately the problems facing any retreat, both to the Scottish frontier and subsequently.

On balance, it would have been wiser to press on, but there had been a breakdown of confidence in Charles Edward. The Highlanders understandably considered themselves tricked, led into a more risky situation than they had envisaged, and far from home.

It was not surprising that they wanted to return home, to the apparent security and greater predictability of Scotland. However, there is a need for caution in assessing the sources. So much comes from people like Lord Elcho, Lord George Murray and Murray of Broughton, who wrote after the event and had a vested interest in blaming anybody but themselves for the Jacobite failure.

Charles Edward could behave like a spoilt child, but his position at Derby can be defended and, as his Jacobite critics were loath to obey his orders, they cannot make him fully responsible for the outcome. ■

■ Norman MacLeod of MacLeod was a Hanoverian chief of a Jacobite clan.



Honourable

When it came to taking sides some found the call irresistible, others had different loyalties but with similar integrity. Profiled are four chiefs and their causes

The Jacobitism of many Scottish clan chiefs was an activity taken for granted by their contemporaries. From Cape Wrath in the north to the Mull of Kintyre in the south, both parties in the dynastic struggle that was to end in the '45 sought to use the man-power of the clans.

Clan chiefs were courted by a wary London government and the Jacobite court in exile.

The Highlands and Western Islands were the only parts of the country where large numbers of ideologically committed men could be raised for the Stuart cause quickly. The support of Highland chiefs was seen as essential to the success or failure of any future rising.

To prevent this, garrisons and roads were built throughout the Highlands. They proclaimed the Hanoverian dynasty's power. The raising of 'Independent Companies', seats in the House of Commons and other means of government employment sought to tie the clan chiefs to the London government.

For a time it seemed as if this policy would work, but when Charles Edward Stuart arrived in July, 1745, decisions had to be made. Traditional loyalties and family ties made calls that many found difficult to resist.

One who could resist was Norman MacLeod of MacLeod, 22nd chief, and known to history as 'the Red Man'. Implicated in the kidnapping of Lady

Grange, in 1739, he had been allegedly involved in the 'Ship of the Men' scandal, where he planned to deport some of his Skye tenants to the Americas as bond servants.

Saved from prosecution by the efforts of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, and the Duke of Argyll, he was elected MP for Inverness-shire in the election of 1741, and became part of the Duke of Argyll's party in Scottish politics.

MacLeod was alleged to be a Jacobite sympathiser by Murray of Broughton, who claimed he had been present at a meeting of the Buck Club in Edinburgh when MacLeod had declared he would rise for the Prince, even if he came alone and with no French help.

But his actions during the '45 certainly betray no Jacobite sympathies, and the efforts made by Forbes to ensure MacLeod's clan were armed shows the government's chief supporter in the North had no doubts as to his loyalty.

On August 3, 1745, he wrote to Forbes of Culloden informing him of the Prince's arrival, and from then on sends constantly to Forbes to inform him of Charles Edward's progress. On August 17, MacLeod informed Forbes he was going to Glenelg 'armless and alone' to prevent his people from volunteering for the Prince's army.

By September he had raised a company of men from his estates who came to Inverness to join Lord Loudoun's regiment. He eventually raised four companies and all through October, 1745, was hard at work on Skye and the Long Island organising them.

It is said he allowed his men to wear white cockades otherwise they would not have joined, a clear indication of the Jacobite sympathies of his clan.

MacLeod was then sent with his men to tackle the Jacobites under

men but deadly foes



■ Loved by friend and foe... the 'gentle' Cameron of Lochiel.

Lord Lewis Gordon in Aberdeenshire, where by December 20, 1745, he had reached Inverurie.

Short of ammunition and muskets, MacLeod's men were surprised by a superior Jacobite force under Lord Lewis Gordon and fled. He retreated to Forres, where he attempted to rally his men and where he was made a freeman of the burgh.

By January, 1746, he was back with Lord Loudoun's garrison in Inverness. His men took part in the infamous 'Rout of Moy', where Lord Loudoun's 1,500 men, attempting to capture the Prince at Moy Hall, were tricked by five local men into believing they had stumbled on the entire Jacobite army in the dark – and ran for it.

When the Jacobite army occupied Inverness, MacLeod followed Loudoun north to Dornoch – and after they were surprised by the Jacobites – fled with his surviving men to Skye.

Here they stayed until news of Culloden reached the island. MacLeod then set off again, this time to hunt for the Prince and to bring retribution to those who had been 'out' in both Glenmoriston and then Badenoch.

Disliking this work he fell ill and was relieved of his command,

returning to Inverness in June of 1746. He left his men to continue their search for the Prince, a task clearly few enjoyed, as their sympathies lay elsewhere.

MacLeod was a Hanoverian chief of a very Jacobite clan.

A companion in the kidnapping of Lady Grange, and the 'Ship of the Men' scandal in 1739, was Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat. He, too, was suspected of Jacobite sympathies, as the chief of a strongly Jacobite clan and appears in a list of 1740 as willing to rise for the Prince.

Sympathy for the cause there may have been, but like MacLeod of MacLeod, his actions were also pro-Hanoverian, and all who knew him advised Prince Charles that his support could not be relied upon.

Determined to improve his family estates (repurchased in 1726 after forfeiture) he was not prepared to join the Prince in what he considered to be a futile exercise. Lacking support from France, Macdonald of Sleat would not put his family's lands at risk in another Jacobite Rising. All messages from the Prince were ignored.

His support was actively sought because of the clan's sympathies – he wrote to Forbes of Culloden that 'the men are as devoted to the young gentleman as their wives and daughters are', but their chief would not rise.

Like MacLeod of MacLeod, he was influenced by Forbes of Culloden to stay loyal to the regime – although there appeared indications after Prestonpans that he might have joined the Rising on the Prince's side.

It was reported that he had met with his factor and MacLeod of Raasay at Sconser Inn after news of the battle. He appeared to be ready to raise his clan and that night plans were made for joining the Prince.

However, in the morning, letters from MacLeod of MacLeod and Duncan Forbes arrived, which changed his mind. He was eventually responsible for raising two companies to help hold the north against Prince Charles's forces, and played host to Lord Loudoun and Forbes of Culloden in Skye after they had fled

from their defeat at Dornoch. Like the MacLeod companies, the Sleat companies were sent out into Glenmoriston and Badenoch to burn the houses and drive off the livestock of Jacobites, and then to search for the Prince – again with little enthusiasm.

Indeed, the Sleat Macdonalds could be said to be chiefly responsible for the Prince's escape.

Sir Alexander's latent sympathies may be revealed in his efforts to spare those who had been 'out' from the full fury of government retribution, and he frequently tackled the Duke of Cumberland about this – indeed, he died on November 23, 1746, on his way to see Cumberland

Tradition, family ties and Prince Charles's great personal charm made it impossible for Donald Cameron of Lochiel to stay at home, or to even contemplate joining the government side.

And it could be said that it was his intervention at the beginning of the Rising which enabled it to progress beyond the raising of a standard at Glenfinnan at the head of Loch Shiel.

Coming from a staunchly royalist family – core of the resistance in the Highlands to Monck and Cromwell, 'out' in both the 1715 and 1719 Risings, and described by a government spy in 1750 as having "ever been such a Wicked and Rebellious People and have had a large share in all the Plots and Rebellions that were formed at the Revolution and ever since" – Lochiel was at first insistent that he would not join another Rising without 6,000 French troops at his back.

Other clan chiefs agreed. But the Prince's charm allied to Lochiel's high personal sense of honour led him to disregard the advice of his hard-headed brother, John of ▶

■ Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat searched for the Prince.



► Fassfern and a merchant in Glasgow.

When the Prince told him he "would erect the royal standard and proclaim that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors. Lochiel, who, my father had often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince."

Lochiel replied: "No, I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me power."

Had Cameron of Lochiel not brought out his clan, such was his influence and reputation, the Rising would have collapsed.

When the Cameron regiment arrived at Glenfinnan with their government prisoners from the skirmish at High Bridge, the '45 took shape.

On the march south, it was Lochiel's regiment that suffered the first Jacobite casualties of the Rising, when they attacked Ruthven Barracks, outside modern-day Kingussie.

It was also the Camerons who seized Perth after a forced march of 30 miles.

Over the coming days and weeks on the campaign south, Lochiel was transformed into an excellent commanding officer, bringing a high sense of discipline and zeal to his men. It was not for nothing that Captain Wolfe (later General and the victor at Quebec) said: "The regiment on the left of the line was Barrel's Regiment, and they were attacked by the Camerons (the bravest clan among them)."

Ever mindful of his men's spiritual needs, he even provided his regiment with three chaplains – one for each of the denominations represented.

Playing a major part in the Prince's counsels, he unleashed his men on Cope's hapless army at Prestonpans.

Lochiel disagreed with the invasion of England by the Prince, and gradually became regarded as the leader, with Lord George Murray, of the opposition to Charles's favourites.

Lochiel's reputation remained high on the retreat from Derby, saving the city of Glasgow from being plundered (in return for which, whenever a Cameron of Lochiel visits the city officially, the city's bells are rung in his honour). At the Jacobite victory of Falkirk he and his brother were wounded.

After the withdrawal north, Lochiel took to his own country and settled down to besiege Fort William for two fruitless weeks, before being summoned to the battlesite of



Culloden by the Prince.

Cumberland's army was bearing down, and Lochiel and his men arrived in Inverness after a forced march of some 50 miles on April 14.

Wounded in the battle and carried from the field, Lochiel eventually escaped to France, where his wife and young family joined him. He was made Colonel of the Regiment d'Albanie, but did not survive Culloden long, dying in October, 1748, in the small northern French town of Bergues.

Loved by friend and foe alike, Cameron of Lochiel represents the best of Scottish Jacobitism – honour, loyalty and truly deserving of his byname of the 'Gentle Lochiel'.

In complete contrast to the character of the 'Gentle Lochiel' is Lord George Murray, again from a staunchly Jacobite family.

The brother of two Dukes of

Atholl – the Jacobite, William, and the Hanoverian, James – he was argumentative, and unable to suffer fools gladly.

Lord George Murray was born in 1694, at Huntingtower in Perthshire. A wild boy, with a strict father, he ran away from school to his Jacobite aunt Lady Nairne.

He enlisted in the Royal Regiment which saw service in Flanders in Queen Anne's reign.

When the 1715 Rising broke out, he was on leave at home, but was quickly promoted to the rank of colonel in the Jacobite army.

Murray brought out a battalion of Athollmen and was used to collect taxes in Fife, missing the inconclusive battle of Sheriffmuir.

Exile followed, before he took part in the disastrous Rising of 1719, this time as a Major-General.

Meeting with James VIII and III in

► Master tactician: but Lord George Murray had no time for fools.

Italy confirmed him in his Jacobitism. He saw James as the personification of a true Christian, and a victim of the highest injustice.

Eventually, Lord George returned home, obtained a pardon for his part in the '15 and the '19, and settled on the old Murray estate of Tullibardine, to which he directed all his energies.

Forming a relationship with Duncan Forbes of Culloden (both were interested in the economic development of Scotland), and visiting the court in London during 1743, Lord George's active days as a Jacobite seemed over.

But when Prince Charles Edward Stuart landed in Scotland – with Lord George's brother, William, the *de jure* Duke of Atholl as a companion – things changed.

No longer the model estate owner and family man, Lord George's heart got the better of his head and he decided to come out as a Jacobite.

Joining the Prince at Perth, Lord George was appointed joint Lieutenant-General with the Duke of Perth and rapidly became the leading military mind of the '45. Prestonpans, Clifton, Falkirk – all Lord George won.

The advance and then the retreat through England without serious loss were due to him.

It is worth remembering that the only battle the Duke of Cumberland won was Culloden, a site chosen against the advice of Murray.

His problem was that he could not abide the Prince's advisors, brought with him from France.

Murray considered them to be fools (and posterity may prove him right). After the retreat from Derby this became a serious problem.

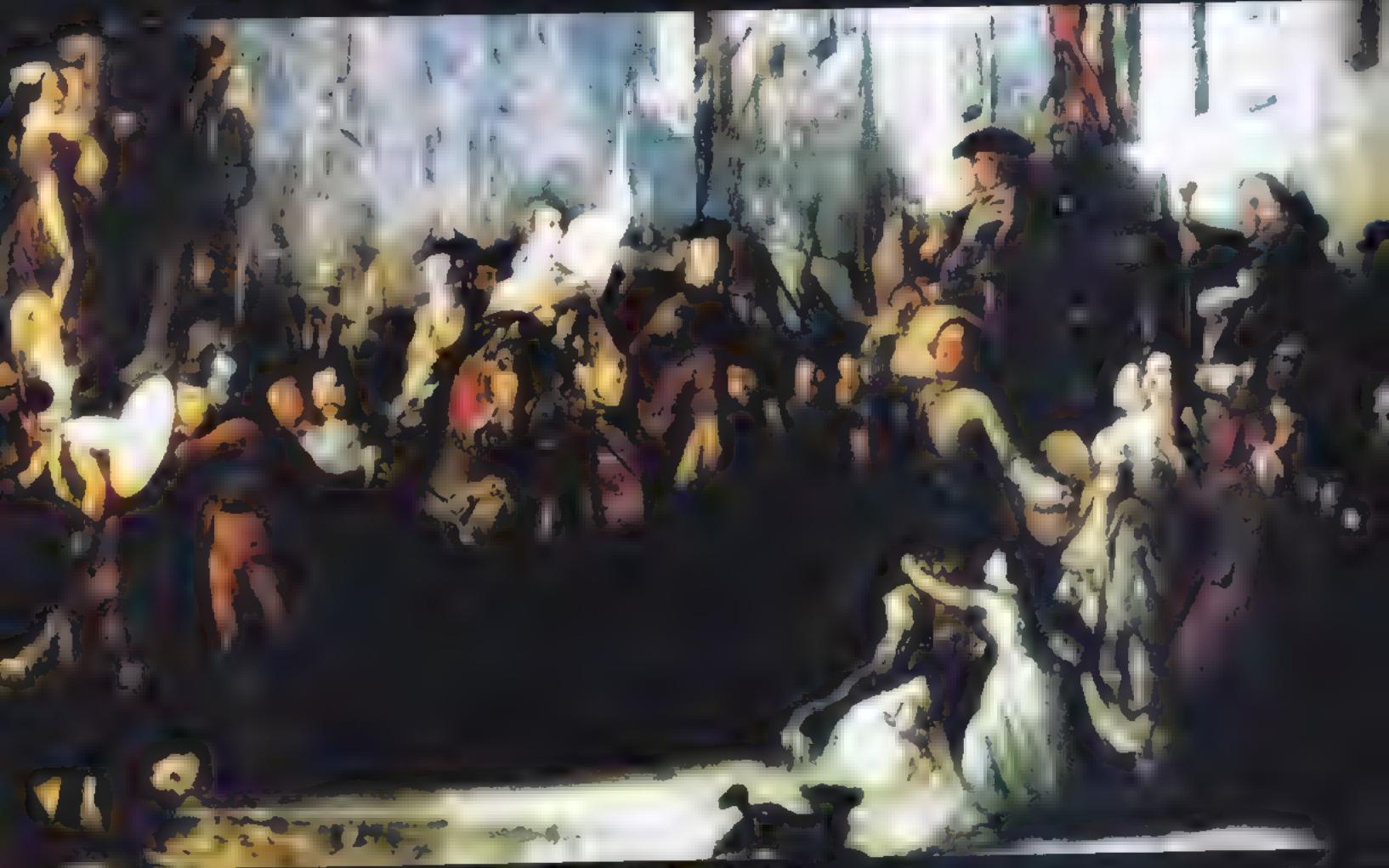
Charles never forgot Derby, and increasingly listened to the advice of the advisors and not Lord George.

It was said at the time by a leading Jacobite, that if Prince Charles had gone to bed and left it all to Lord George Murray, he (Charles) would have awoken to find himself King.

Lord George died in the small Dutch port town of Medemblik, north of Amsterdam, in 1760, after years of exile.

Here his house still survives, and his tomb is in the local church. ●

The call to arms



■ Parade of triumph: Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his 'Highland host' make their way down Edinburgh's Royal Mile.

Jacobites fought for many reasons, but their ranks were certainly swollen by the support for those who had stood out in opposition to the Union

There are many books on Jacobitism but even recent ones are often flawed by a myth – the myth of the Clans. Briefly stated, this account argues that the Jacobite risings were overwhelmingly

central affairs, based to the north west of the 'Highland line' (a term usually not well defined), chiefly supported by a Gaelic population from a variety of motives, none of which were of any national nature.

The strength of this story derives from the purposes it serves. Briefly stated, these are to marginalise Jacobitism in the history of modern Scotland and Britain, and to enable it to be romanticized through this very process – making it an irrelevance in the romanticized real threats to a real political agenda.

But Jacobitism was a real threat to

was linked to Scottish nationalism, the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, an end to Anglo-French conflict which would have undermined the development of the British Empire, end of the Excise and a return to traditional property rights.

Through it the government of France intermittently, though consistently, sought to divide Britain into its three component parts, by separating Scotland and Ireland. Jacobitism was thus a key threat to the development of Britain as a stable state in the first half of the 18th century.

But surely Jacobitism was about restoring the Stuarts, and with them Catholic absolutism? Support for the native dynasty is undoubtedly a core reason for Jacobite support, but there are very good reasons for thinking it not to be the sole

motivation it is sometimes held up as being.

In the 1640s, the Marquess of Montrose defended the Stuart cause of Charles I (no Catholic) with an army of fewer than 3,000 Highlanders and Irish. At Killiecrankie in July, 1689, Viscount Dundee fought for James VII with 2,500, including an Irish battalion. At no time in the aftermath of James's removal in 1688-89 did the Stuart dynasty obtain more than 5,000 men to defend its cause in Scotland, as opposed to Ireland, where nearer 30,000 joined the colours.

For them, their king, religion and possibly independence (following the Patriot parliament of 1689) were at stake. In Scotland, by contrast, relatively few outwith the usual suspects among the pro-Stuart clans rallied to fight for their dynasty.

Then came the Union. In the ►

► major risings which followed it Jacobite support was transformed. An increasingly marked anti Union position was taken up by Jacobite ideologues; Jacobites at Westminster supported an attempt at repeal which narrowly failed, and Lockhart of Carnwath, a virulent nationalist (though from a Whig and Presbyterian family), became one of King James's major business managers in Scotland.

In 1715, the Earl of Mar, who had originally supported Union, told one of the Jacobite gentry that the army he was raising was to march south, repeal the Union and redress the grievances of Scotland, whether James came to support them or not.

Likewise the Whig-leaning Master of Sinclair joined the Rising out of a sense of what he called the honourable and beautiful duty of resistance on behalf of the Scots.

Who were the Prince's men? One estimate says 4,100 Highlanders only in a force of nearly 18,000

nation, James himself reiterated a commitment to 'a free and independent Scots Parliament'.

The Jacobite standard bore the motto 'No Union', while the Episcopalian clergy called for an end to 'the specious name and pretence of an Union' whereby Scotland was 'basely and shamefully ... sold and enslaved'. Such examples could be multiplied.

In a few weeks, Mar raised almost 20,000 men, a colossal army: one US-based Jacobite historian estimates that one in 12 adult males joined the rising.

In a prolonged war effort in the 1640s, the Army of the Covenant in Scotland, with the resources of central government at its disposal, had failed to raise more than 25,000 men, in a Scotland with a similar population to that which obtained in the 18th century.

By comparison, average total British mobilization in the 1740s was 62,373, and at the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776, there were 48,000 men on the two army establishments of England and Ireland. Mar's was a serious threat indeed.

Where did his men come from? One government estimate (almost certainly on the low side) suggested that there were only 4,100 identifiable Highlanders in a levy of nearly 18,000. The Whig magnate Argyll estimated that the Jacobites were 'a hundred to one' north of the

Forth, while even his own Campbell clansmen showed signs of interest in a rising against Union.

A sample of Jacobite army musters at Auchterarder and in the South-West, suggests that some 6,000 out of 13,500 identified were clansmen.

Despite the Highlands being the most militarised part of Scotland, where up to half the population lived (Webster in 1755 places 51 per cent north of the Tay), they did not provide more than half of Mar's army on the evidence available to us.

Mar's formidable force was defeated by his own lethargy, incompetence and the amazing decision to divide his army. In 1745, Charles Edward Stuart performed better with fewer military resources.

Between 1715 and 1745 the Union had become more of a settled

fact of Scottish political life. Policy decisions made by the government to remove middle class Lowland Jacobites (of whom there were many) from public office helped to drive down the number of troops that could be raised.

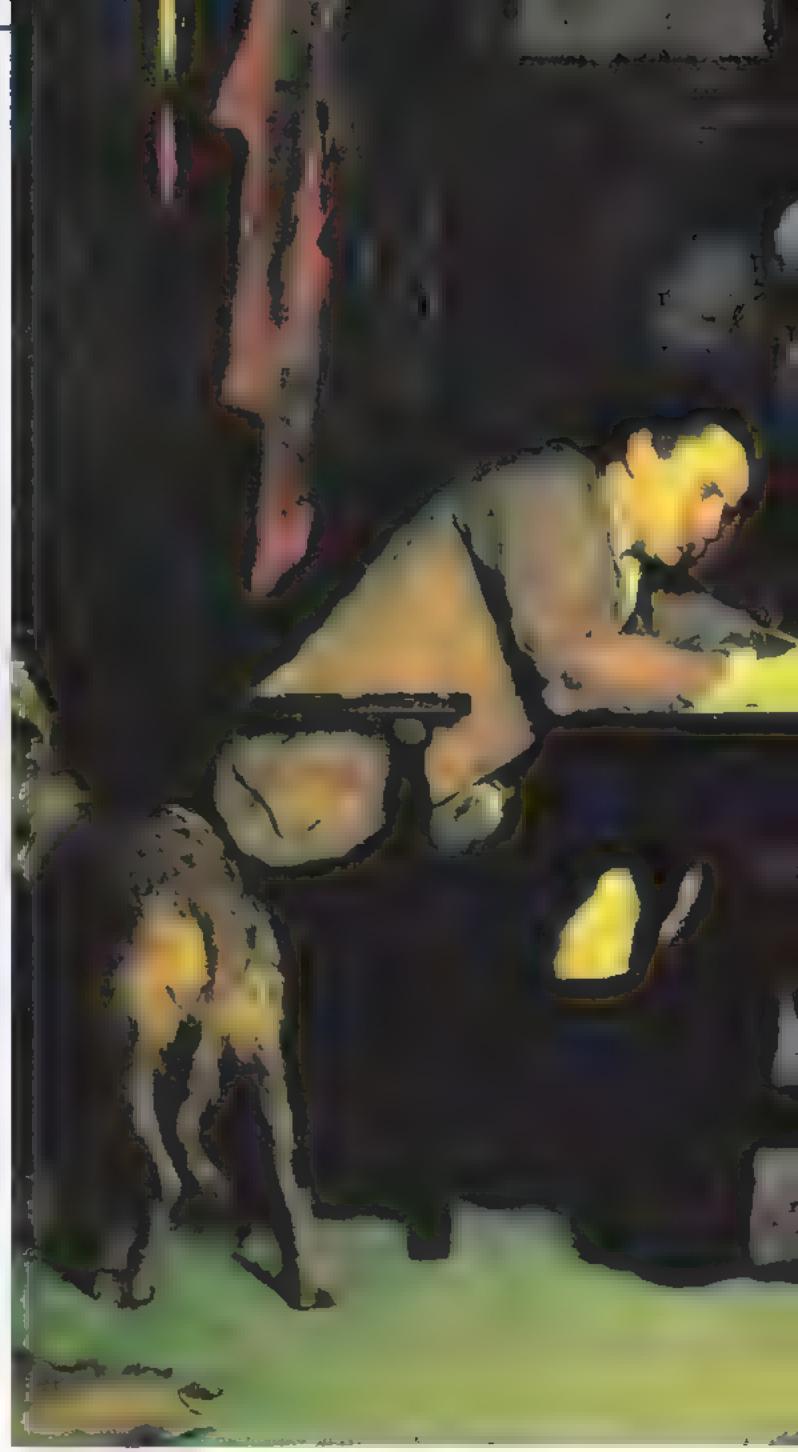
In addition, while nationally minded Presbyterians were in a number of cases willing to join the 1715 Rising, attitudes had hardened by 1745.

Anti-Catholicism and a linked sense of Britishness were both stronger, and Jacobite commanders of that year such as Lord Lewis Gordon bemoaned Presbyterian unwillingness to join the Jacobite army. In the South-West, Jacobite recruitment shrank from more than 1,000 men to around 100.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Charles Edward and his commanders raised a force of between 11,000 and 14,000 men, including the 1,000 or so Franco-Scottish and Franco-Irish troops who were landed.

Although the Prince, short of time and desirous of striking at London, led only 5,600 men into England in late autumn, 1745, (in addition to some 2,000 camp-followers), Viscount Strathaird remained behind as major general to command and augment a second army, occupying the Jacobite Lowlands north of Edinburgh.

When Lord John Drummond landed with the Royal Scots at Montrose towards the end of



November, he took command of this force, which reached 3,000 by the beginning of December.

On December 23, Franco-Scottish regulars and troops from the 2nd battalion of the Forfarshire Regiment, defeated a mainly Highland Hanoverian force at Inverurie, thus keeping control of the Jacobite Lowlands.

Lowland Jacobites defeating Highland Hanoverians – no wonder Inverurie is the least-studied major engagement of the Rising, because it offends so many stereotypes!

Subsequently, the second army joined Charles at the Battle of Falkirk, where the Jacobites had 9,000 men in the field, and more than 1,000 more engaged in the siege of Stirling. As the Lowland

burghs came back into government hands and the army retreated north, it shrank, but units such as the Forfarshires reached home from Culloden in good order.

Since the government had decided to exert its utmost weight against the Highlands (perhaps because British opinion would be more outraged at attacks on towns), only limited action was taken against them. A similar process occurred in Ireland after 1798, when the native Catholic Irish, who had supported the rising, got a disproportionate share of the blame, while many Protestant nationalists of Scots and English descent were left more to their own devices.

Both in Ireland and Scotland, leaving the Lowlanders and



Protestants alone helped to defeat the Jacobites, and by 1760 many Scots were better off. But better were blaming the English for the Jacobite episode on the basis that the bulk of the Gaelic-speakers

They were not right to do this. Although a slightly higher proportion of Charles Edward's army came from the Highlands than was the case 30 years earlier, much of the leadership was Lowland.

Up to 80 per cent of all officers were Lowlanders, more than 50 per cent of those with the rank of major and above, and eight out of nine generals (counting the Murrays of Atholl as Lowland – Lord President Forbes described them as 'no Highland family').

At least 45 towns, with a population of 1,000 or more, provided officers

for the army. Few Lowland Jacobites seem to have been forced out, though only nine out of 220 from the Aberdeen area for example.

Lists of those involved, drawn up by the servants of government, are helpful in letting us know that, as from Lowland troops being willing to enlist and risk their lives in war or want, many were well off. Out of 57 listed names from Angus and Banffshire, 179 are professionals, merchants and traders, and 159 tradesmen. Similar figures were obtained elsewhere.

True, it is clear that many who might have been supposed to belong to that stratum of society which was bound to Britishness by commercial interests nevertheless risked everything they had and a miserable

death to fight for the Jacobite cause.

'King James the 8 and No Union' was reportedly cried at the raising of the Standard at Glenlinnan.

Uniformed (as was its 1715 predecessor) in the tartan that was a symbol of Scottish patriot valour and 'honesty', the Jacobite army of 1745 was a force which engaged the sympathies and touched the lives of a far larger part of Scottish society than some conventional accounts continue to indicate.

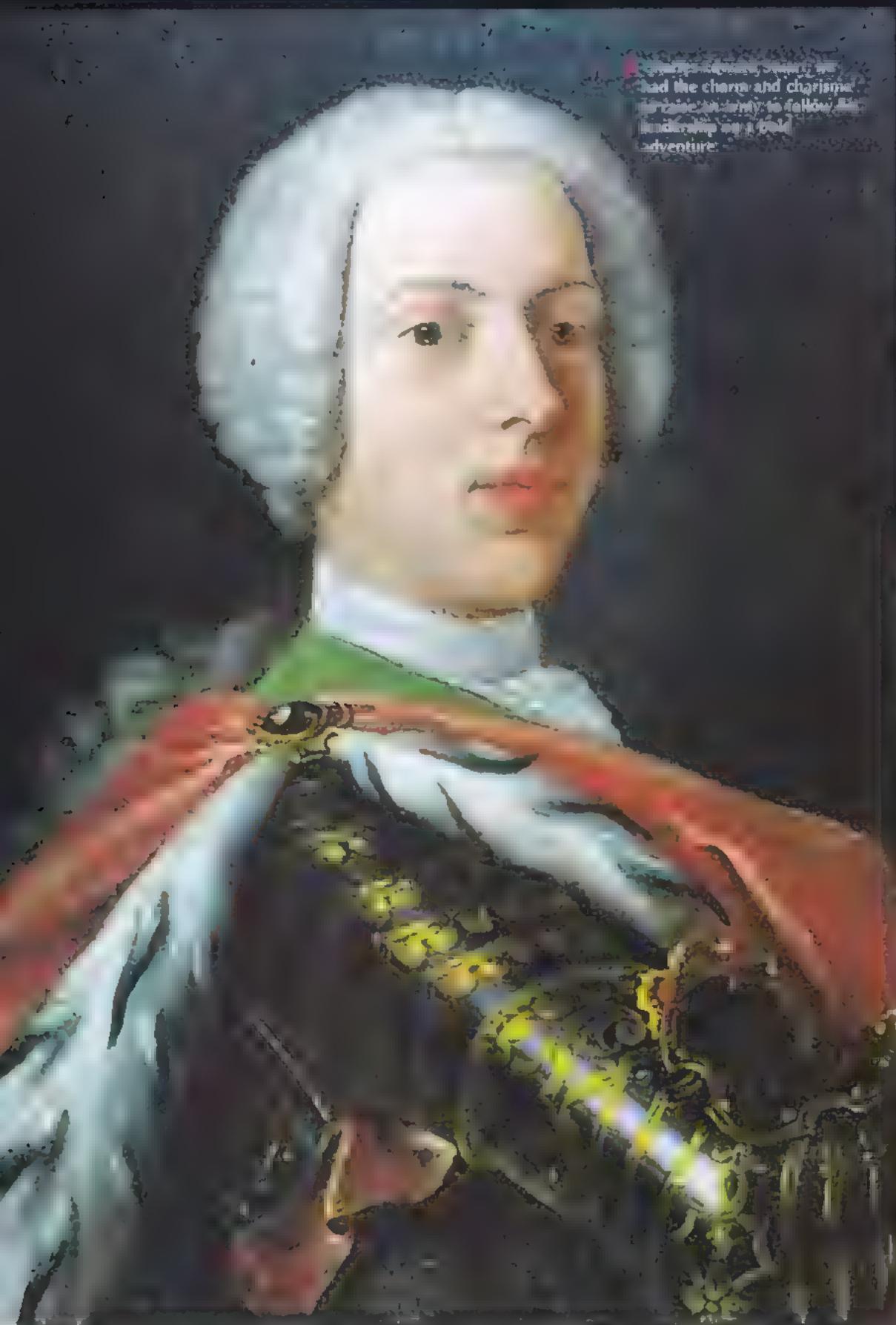
Many people throughout Scotland, apart from Berwickshire and the West (and sometimes even here), had Jacobite neighbours or knew Jacobite families. Sympathy and understanding for the cause even among some of its opponents in Scotland was stronger than the government liked. In 1650, there

was no need to try Montrose, 'the malignant', and a man widely hated in Scotland, anywhere but in Edinburgh, in 1746, the Scots courts were judged unsafe places to get Jacobites convicted.

The British government declined to allow Scots to raise a militia until the late 18th century, for it did not trust the sentiments of Scots in arms outwith the regular British Army.

The Jacobites fought for many reasons: the Episcopal Church, the Excise, the economic decline of the east coast, political opportunism, the insistence of superiors. But their ranks and sympathy for them was swollen by the manner in which they exemplified those incitements to heroic valour called for by the opponents of the Union in the last Scottish Parliament before 1707.

A throne within his



had the charm and charisma
to inspire loyalty to follow
him despite long odds
and adventure.

Charles had dedicated his life to a single quest, when his cause ended at Culloden all that was left were the might have beens and a gnawing sense of failure

Prince Charles Edward Louis John Casimir Sylvester Xavier Maria Stuart, better known to history as 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', was born in Rome on December 31, 1720. The guns of the Castle of Saint Angelo fired a salute, people sang and danced in the streets, fireworks exploded and some Jacobites even claimed to have seen a new star in the night sky. The baby's birth brought them fresh hope for the future.

They had long since realised that the man they called James VIII and III was no warrior. He would never win back the throne of Britain, but surely his son would grow up to restore the Stuart dynasty and return them all to their forfeited estates.

Charles proved to be a promising child - large, lively and energetic, with dark red hair, brown eyes and a fair complexion. "He is continually in motion", one of the courtiers told a friend when the Prince was three, adding: "You may easily imagine what amusement he gives to his father and mother, and indeed they have little other diversion."

His parents were incompatible. James, dignified, melancholy and reserved, his Polish wife Clementina, half his age, tiny, impetuous and probably anorexic.

Charles grew up against the background of their noisy quarrels. Soon after the birth of his younger

grasp - then oblivion



Now looking the worse for wear, this tartan plaid belonged to Bonnie Prince Charlie.

brother, Henry Bentinck in 1725, his mother rushed him to a doctor declaring that her stricken son's husband was keeping him safe.

It was untrue but the truth did not emerge for over a year and when she did she was greatly changed, spending her days nursing the sick and poor of Rome. Her family could only watch helplessly as she wore herself out and in 1735 she died.

Meanwhile, James watched over his sons with anxious, stifling concern. He preferred Henry, who was more like him in nature, but he was desperately anxious for Charles to grow into the perfect prince.

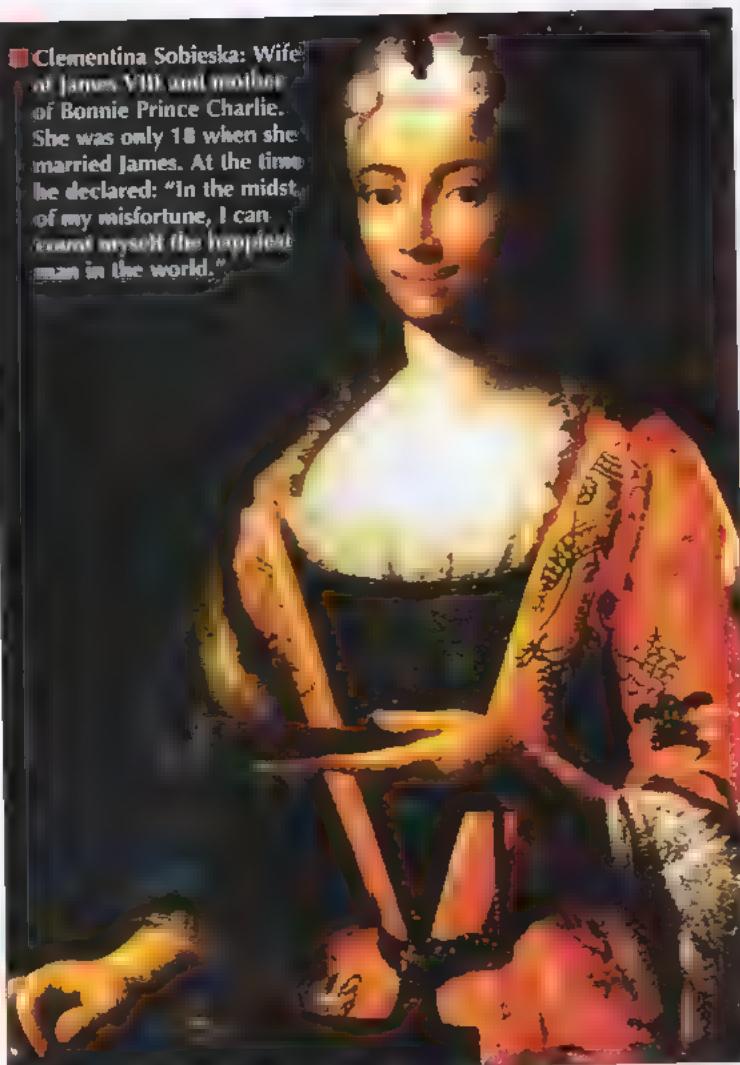
Unfortunately, as he frequently pointed out, Henry was far better at his lessons than his elder brother.

Rather than sitting at his books, Charles liked to be outside – riding, shooting, hunting, playing tennis, golf and shuttlecock. It seemed to his worried father that the boy was “very innocent and backward in some respects”, childish and immature.

In fact, Charles's outdoor activities had a serious purpose. He well knew what was expected of him and the hours he spent hunting and shooting were, to his mind, training for the battlefield.

So, too, were the long, barefoot country walks he undertook to improve his stamina. Indoors, he

Clementina Sobieska: Wife of James VIII and mother of Bonnie Prince Charlie. She was only 18 when she married James. At the time he declared: “In the midst of my misfortune, I can regard myself the happiest man in the world.”



pored over military manuals, plans of fortifications and model forts. The only recreation he allowed himself was an hour or two playing the cello. Like his mother, he was devoted to music.

When he grew old enough to appear in society he was a great success, for he was handsome and he had great charm, but his attention was elsewhere and from his point of view the parties and banquets were a needless distraction.

“Had I soldiers I would not be here now”, he was heard to remark one evening at a ball. His sole ambition was to lead an invasion of Britain.

In the late autumn of 1743 his opportunity came. France and Britain were at war, the French had recently suffered a serious defeat at Dettingen, and now they were looking for revenge. They planned to invade England, depose George II and replace him with Charles, who would rule as Regent for his father.

The Prince said goodbye to James on January 9, 1744, telling him: “I go, Sire, in search of three crowns, which I doubt not to have the honour and happiness of laying at Your Majesty's feet. If I fail in the attempt, your next sight of me shall be in my coffin.”

His father flinched, exclaiming “Heaven forbid that all the crowns in

The ladies of Edinburgh were captivated and flocked to see the Prince, but he had invasion of England on his mind

► the world should rob me of my son!
Be careful of yourself, my dear
Prince, for my sake and, I hope, for
the sake of millions."

Charles then rode secretly for France. A large fleet carrying 10,000 men had been prepared and was just beginning to cross the Channel early in March, 1745, when a fierce storm blew up, damaging so many ships that the entire expedition was cancelled.

Charles had inherited his mother's single-minded determination, and he was determined to go ahead regardless. Ignoring the warnings of his father and friends, he set sail

early in July, 1745, with a handful of Irish and Scottish Jacobites and landed on the little island of Eriskay in pouring rain.

His subsequent success in persuading the reluctant clan chiefs to join him was entirely due to his charismatic personality and when he and his army of Highlanders marched south and defeated General Cope at Prestonpans, there were many who would have been glad to see him rule Scotland.

The ladies of Edinburgh certainly flocked to admire him when he installed himself in the Palace of

Holyroodhouse, but he had no desire to waste time celebrating. Stubborn and high-handed, he demanded his army continued south, clashing frequently with his General, Lord George Murray, as they marched towards London.

When the expected support from English Jacobites failed to materialise and Lord George insisted on turning back at Derby, Charles was stunned.

He tried desperately to make the Highland chiefs change their minds, but they, too, were convinced that they would all be slaughtered if they went farther, and so the retreat



■ The marriage of James VIII and Clementina was painted by Agostino Masucci.

began. Disaster came on 16 April, 1746, at Culloden. According to some accounts, Charles had to be restrained from going down into the thick of the battle to rally his men.

Others claimed that he gazed in horrified disbelief at the scene before him, too shocked to move, while Lord Elcho taunted him for being 'a damned cowardly Italian'.

Whatever his true behaviour at Culloden, Charles showed extraordinary courage during the next three months when the Hanoverians hunted him through the north-west of Scotland having put a

price on his head. Despite danger and discomfort his companions never heard him complain and, even when he was ill with dysentery, he remained outwardly cheerful.

His ordeal finally ended in early September when he was able to board a French ship which had sailed into Loch nan Uamh in search of him.

Welcomed back to France as if he were a conquering hero, not a defeated fugitive, he was cheered in the streets and at the opera whenever he appeared and the ladies of the court listened enraptured to his tales of his adventures.

Their admiration merely increased his sense of failure. He was bitterly unhappy. The slaughter of his Highlanders had affected him deeply and, distraught at the collapse of all his plans, he was desperate for Louis XIV to give him an army so that he could try again. Louis had no such intention. Angry and frustrated, Charles was drinking heavily. He may well have inherited a defective gene from his anorexic mother, and he was soon in the grip of alcoholism.

He could not face the humiliation of returning to Rome and sought consolation in an affair with his cousin Louise, Duchess of Montbazon, by whom he had a short-lived son. He left her for a courtesan twice his age, and when Louis XV made peace with George II in 1748, Charles was forcibly ejected from France.

Fearing assassination by Hanoverian agents, he adopted a series of disguises and spent long years wandering incognito through Switzerland, Germany and the Low Countries. From time to time he slipped back into France and even risked visiting London in 1750, when he tried in vain to win the support of the British

Protestants by announcing that he would join the Church of England. Encouraged by his concerned friends who hoped to divert him, Clementina Walkinshaw came over from Scotland. He had met her while staying at her father's house near Stirling and she had apparently become

his mistress. They now settled in Ghent, living together as man and wife. Their daughter, Charlotte, was born in 1753.

Unable to give up drinking, Charles took out all his frustrations on Clementina until, when Charlotte was six, she took the little girl and sought refuge in a convent.

"There is not a woman in the world that would have suffered so long as what I have done", she wrote in her parting message. Yet in spite of everything, she added: "I quit my dearest Prince with the greatest regret."

After his father's death in 1766, Charles returned to Rome, living once more in the Muti Palace. Eager to annoy the British, Louis XV suggested that Charles should take a wife and have sons, and in 1772 he married an impoverished German girl, Louise of Stolberg.

She was 19, he was in his early 50s, his health ruined. She found life with him unbearable. They moved to Florence, where she fell in love with Count Vittorio Alfieri, a romantic young poet, and ran away with him.

Charles returned to Rome. Even at this late date, his father's old secretary noted: "He charms everyone who approaches him."

After a serious illness in 1784 he sent for his daughter Charlotte. She had become the mother of three illegitimate children by the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux and she hoped to inherit a fortune from her father. She looked after Charles carefully and he responded by making her Duchess of Albany. He survived for more than three years in her care, finally dying after a stroke on January 31, 1788.

Charles Edward Stuart is buried in St Peter's in Rome, beside his father and brother.

Whatever the implications of the '45 Rising for Scotland, his was a very real personal tragedy. Despite all his early promise, he was unable to come to terms with the reality of his situation

after Culloden, and his undoubtedly qualities of bravery and leadership were lost in the long years of frustration and despair.

The armchair on which the Prince rested on his way to Culloden. Charles memorabilia is always in demand at auctions.

The Lady Grange affair

The remote Hebridean island of St Kilda is not usually associated with events central to Scottish History. This makes its involvement in the bizarre kidnapping of Lady Rachel Grange in 1739 all the more remarkable.

She was the wife of Erskine of Grange, a prominent political figure of the day and brother of the Jacobite Earl of Mar, leader of the '15 Rising.

Lord Grange was a secret Jacobite, who held Jacobite meetings at his Edinburgh home. His wife, however, sympathised with Hanoverianism.

This was not necessarily a problem, had it not been for the fact that, during their 28-year marriage, the couple drew apart.

Their quarrelling became so divisive that Lady Grange threatened to reveal her husband's Jacobite dealings. He took no chances. Late in the night of January 22, 1739, Lady Grange was seized by a party of Highlanders – allegedly led by the Jacobite Lord Lovat.

She was blindfolded and taken to Castle Tioram in Moidart, from there to Skye and then to Heisgeir Island in North Uist.

After two years, she was moved 40 miles west across the Atlantic to St Kilda. Instrumental in her abduction were Norman, Chief of MacLeod, and Alexander, Chief of the MacDonalds of Sleat.

Imprisoned on St Kilda for seven years, she lived in a two-roomed hut. 'Lady Grange Cleit', as it is known, can still be seen on the island she described as 'vile, nasty and stinking poor'.

Eventually, she managed to smuggle a letter, inside some yarn, to Inverness. Her relatives, who had believed her dead, were alerted and they appealed to the government for help. A sloop was sent to find her, but failed, as her captors moved her about.

The experience finally drove Lady Grange insane, but her letter caused uproar in Edinburgh.

To the government, the affair hinted at the extent of the Jacobite network, and the lengths gone to avoid detection.

The hapless Lady Grange, meanwhile, ended her days on Skye in 1745 and she was buried there at Trumpton in Waternish.



Peacekeeper - with a

Duncan Forbes was given the tough task of making the Union work and providing stability in Scotland. When he wasn't boozing, he proved himself a key player

Duncan Forbes of Culloden was reckoned to be 'the greatest boozier in the north'. On the occasion of his mother's funeral, no doubt grief stricken, he is reputed to have over-indulged to such an extent that he mislaid the maternal remains!

Feats of alcohol consumption aside, Forbes was a key figure in Scottish politics in the decades after the Union of 1707, one of those whose job it was to implement the Union in the interests of political stability.

Born in 1685, Forbes was educated at the University of Edinburgh and, like so many Scots lawyers of the day, at the University of Leyden. Propitiously, he returned to Scotland in 1707 and began his ascent up the greasy pole of office-holding with an appointment as Sheriff of Midlothian in 1709.

This post was secured through the influence of John, 2nd Duke of Argyll – a key figure in the Whig interest which came to dominate Scottish politics after 1712. For the remainder of his career Forbes would be associated with the Argyll, or, as it was known at the time, the 'Argathelian' group of Whigs.

Although Forbes was a firm Unionist and a loyal Hanoverian, he was not an unthinking member of either camp. In the aftermath of the Jacobite rising of 1715 he opposed the idea of trying the rebels in Carlisle and he did not act as a prosecutor at the trials.

He protested, in an anonymous letter to Prime Minister Robert Walpole, about the severity of the treatment meted out to the Jacobite rebels; it was his feeling that such action would only serve to store up resentment for the future.

He advocated the punishment of

'only as many as was necessary for terror'.

Forbes entered parliament in 1721 for the Ayr Burghs, but in the following year took up the representation of the Inverness Burghs. In parliament he was a zealous supporter of the Duke of Argyll's interest against the rival Whig grouping, known as the 'Squadron Volante', which revolved around the Duke of Roxburghe.

Appointed to the office of Lord Advocate in 1725, in succession to his Squadron rival Robert Dundas of Arniston, Forbes first task was to deal with the Malt Tax Riots in Glasgow.

He accompanied a military force, led by General Wade and was firm in his view that the Glasgow magistrates were to blame for the breakdown in order in that town and advocated stern measures in response.

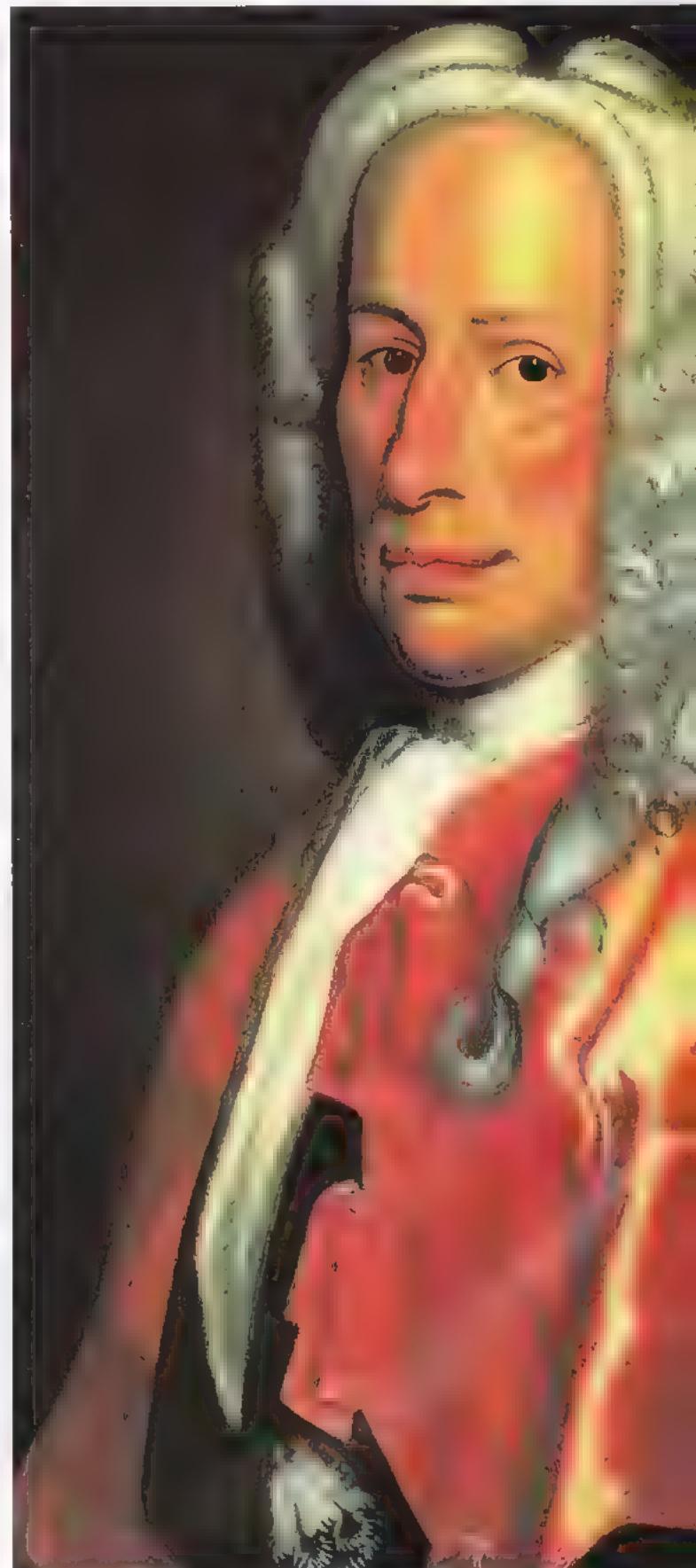
The Malt Tax had also induced a strike among the brewers of Edinburgh, a group who also had to yield before Forbes's determination that this fiscal innovation should be applied to Scotland.

Forbes's stridency in this matter worried his superiors – most notable the Duke of Argyll's brother, the Earl of Islay, who thought him 'violent'.

Roxburghe's fecklessness in this episode resulted in his dismissal from the post of Secretary of State for Scotland, and the effective abolition of that office.

In their response to the Malt Tax riots and the aftermath, Forbes and Islay sought to demonstrate that they could rule over Scottish affairs without undue interference from London.

The result of their management was 'akin to the semi-independence' of Scotland. Forbes's ideal of Scottish administration was to avoid



tiny bit of terror

■ Man for the task... trained lawyer Duncan Forbes turned out to be a colourful but successful manager of Scottish affairs in the aftermath of 1707.

the dominance of a Secretary of State – whose absolute power Forbes regarded as a 'nuisance' – and to limit Westminster interference in Scottish affairs

The latter ambition was clearly demonstrated in the aftermath of the Porteous riots in Edinburgh in 1737, when parliament sought to impose severe penalties on the city of Edinburgh

This was the occasion of Forbes's final speeches in the House of Commons, before he became Lord President of the Court of Session

He argued that the House of Commons, dominated as it was by English members, should treat Edinburgh – now a city of Great Britain, nay the second city – in the same 'manner they would treat a Bill inflicting such pains and penalties upon any of the cities which they represent'

In this matter, as in the response to the 1715 rebellion, Forbes was alive to the likelihood that injudicious and heavy-handed measures could endanger the stability of Scotland and, ultimately, of the Union

Forbes's political service to the House of Argyll was complemented by advice on matters of estate management

He was a keen improver on his own Northern estates, to which he succeeded after the death of his brother, but took these ideals further on the larger estates of his political masters

In 1737 he completed a survey of the Mull, Morvern and Tiree portions of the estate and advocated wholesale changes.

Although competitive commercialisation was certainly not unknown in the Highlands at this time, Forbes sought to apply these principles to a much greater extent

than hitherto. He recommended the stripping out of the middlemen – or tacksmen – who were selected for their military and political loyalty, and their replacement with tenants chosen on commercial principles and bound by lease to pay much higher rents

This plan worked well on paper, but due to difficult economic conditions in the early 1740s the new rents were unrealistic and arrears mounted

Although the plan was reversed when Islay succeeded his brother as 3rd Duke of Argyll in 1743, they were a factor in the lack of readiness of the principal Whig clan during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745

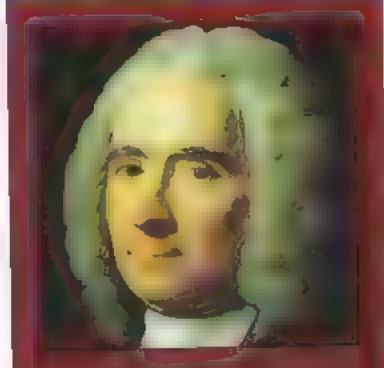
This rebellion formed the final act of Forbes's career. He worked hard, raising independent companies of soldiers and exploiting his personal connections among the Highland chiefs to ensure that – from the Jacobite point of view at least – an unexpectedly large part of the Highlands remained loyal.

As in 1715 he urged that the aftermath of the rebellion be handled carefully. In this he incurred the easily-roused displeasure of the King's unpleasant younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, who referred to Forbes contemptuously as 'that old woman who talked to me about humanity.'

Although the final years of his life, prior to his death in 1747, were dogged by financial difficulty, Forbes remained one of the key players in the Scottish politics

He understood as well as any of his contemporaries how the Union of 1707 worked, and the ways in which Scotland had to be managed...

In order that the new arrangements retained the stability which he desired. ■



Forbes's ally was a star at the bar in Scotland

A KEY ally of Duncan Forbes of Culloden was William Grant, Lord Prestongrange. Staunchly Hanoverian, Grant used his position as Lord Advocate during the '45 to help neutralise the Jacobites.

He had an impressive pedigree. His father, Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, was a celebrated judge and political writer. At the 1689 Convention of Estates, the 28-year-old Francis made a famous speech, arguing that James VII had 'forfeited' (forfeited) the Scottish Crown.

Following his father, Grant, too, became a star at the Scottish bar. He also attained a senior role in the Church of Scotland. In 1737 he was appointed Solicitor General, rising to Lord Advocate in 1738.

After the defeat of the '45, Grant joined Forbes advocating leniency towards the Jacobites. The Duke of Cumberland's punitive approach, they argued, undermined efforts to foster loyalty to Hanover and the Union.

Further advancement in 1754 was followed by leading roles in state 'improvement' schemes. He died at Bath in 1764.

King George II: he attracted loyalty from his supporters and detestation from the Jacobites



It was a case of Scot versus Scot, yet the Hanoverian loyalists were unwavering in their opposition to what they saw as disaster for their country and Presbyterianism

The existence of a Hanoverian Scotland in 1745-46, actively hostile to 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' and the Jacobite cause is often overlooked in accounts of the rebellion. Yet if Jacobitism was a 'national cause' in 1745-46 – as some have sought to present it – it was only so in the eyes of some Scots.

The rebellion was, in reality a civil war, pitting Scot against Scot as well as English against Scots. It was also a clash of ideologies, of different visions of Scotland, past, present and future.

If Jacobites were overwhelmingly Protestant Episcopabans – Catholic Jacobites were much fewer in number – Hanoverians were all Presbyterians, either from the established Church of Scotland or from the several Presbyterian Dissenting churches.

To them, the Protestant and Hanoverian Succession, which the Jacobites sought to overturn, guaranteed the continuation of a Protestant Scotland, the Presbyterian settlement in the Church of Scotland, and of the liberty and rule of law secured by the Revolution of 1689.

Many, but not all Hanoverians were also supporters of the Union of 1707.

By the 1740s, the economic benefits of the Union were beginning to be more widely felt. In the two decades following the Union, Glasgow and the west had prospered, thanks to the tobacco trade with North America, but most other areas and sectors of the economy had struggled.

More fundamentally Hanoverian loyalty was underpinned by a Catholic loathing and a potent ideology of anti-Catholicism. This ideology portrayed Catholicism as a

persecuting religion; the Catholic Church supposedly sought the extirpation of Protestantism.

Catholic promises were also never to be trusted, as there was no obligation amongst Catholics to keep faith with Protestant heretics, or so it was believed.

The identification of the Jacobite cause with Catholicism – the Pretender and his sons were Catholics – was a major political weakness. It was also one which above all others, perhaps destined Jacobitism for failure and romantic myth long before the crushing defeat of Jacobite hopes on Drumossie Moor in April, 1746.

In 1750, the Young Pretender converted to Anglicanism, in recognition of the depth of hostility in Britain to Catholicism. Ironically, this desperate gesture convinced few people, and served only further to discredit the Jacobite cause amongst the remaining faithful.

Active opposition to the Young Pretender and the Stuart cause during the '45, took a number of main forms. Of these, the most striking was the formation of government volunteer companies.

These companies, comprising Scots willing to take up arms to defend the Hanoverian regime against the invading Highland army, were established in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and several other places, including Paisley, Kilmarnock, Renfrew, Perth and Linlithgow.

A reasonable conservative estimate is the number of volunteer companies established would be around 120,000 men, with 100,000 in the Highlands and 20,000 in the Lowlands. The importance of these companies was limited. Military expertise on the part of volunteer companies tended to dissolve on the appearance of Jacobite forces.

This reflected the poor state of defences in many towns, the fact that lowland Scottish society had by this period largely become demilitarised and, more importantly, the panic

BRAVE DEFIANCE IN A DARK HOUR



■ The Earl of Loudoun: he raised a force of loyal Highland clansmen, which could easily undercut Hanoverian feelings and determination in the face of the much-feared Highland Jacobites.

Only the presence of regular troops in sufficient numbers could steel the resistance of the civilian population.

The importance of these forces was primarily political. What they demonstrated was the existence of a strong Scottish commitment to the Hanoverian regime during its darkest hour. Their existence is all the more impressive when we recognise the difficulties which stood in the way of their mobilisation.

They were raised in the face of uncertainty about their legal standing, an absence of arms, and considerable chaos and division at the level of both national and local

administration. Some volunteer troops did see military action. The Glasgow regiment fought, for example, at the battle of Falkirk, where one officer and 18 privates amongst their number were killed and three officers and around 20 men were taken prisoner by the Jacobite forces.

Other ways of demonstrating commitment to the Hanoverian regime included issuing 'loyal' addresses, expressing support for George II and detestation of the Jacobite invasion, and joining loyal associations in defence of the regime.

Burgh officers and others also provided intelligence and transport for the British army sent to suppress the rebellion. The Provost and magistrates of Aberdeen, for example, made efforts to collect

intelligence about rebel movements, which they then communicated to Lord Findlater and Duncan Forbes, the Lord President, a tireless worker in the Hanoverian cause in the Highlands during the crisis.

Throughout much of Scotland, individuals and groups engaged in minor (although sometimes costly in terms of their repercussions) acts of loyalty to the government.

In Aberdeen, James Chalmers printed news sheets - the precursor to the establishment in 1747 of the Press and Journal, the first Scottish newspaper to be published outside of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and still published today.

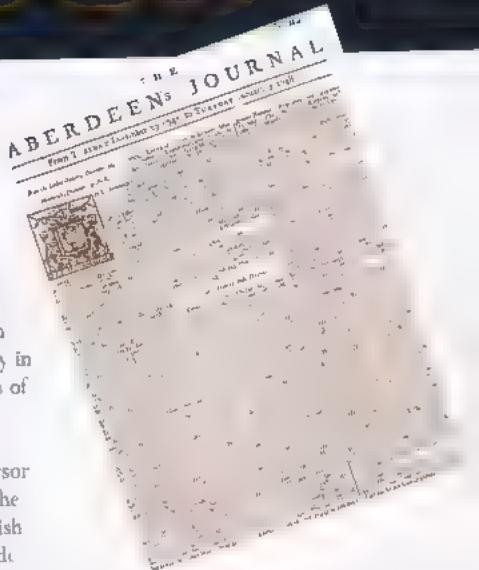
Chalmers' type and presses were attacked by Jacobites, suggesting very strongly that he was printing material hostile to the Jacobite cause. Chalmers was forced to jump from a window to escape his attackers, straining his leg in the process.

The British press, which had developed rapidly since the lapsing of pre-publication censorship in England and Wales in 1695, was firmly anti-Jacobite. When they were in control of Edinburgh, during the second half of September and October, 1745, the Jacobites stopped newspapers being dispatched through the post from the Capital, so conscious were they of their anti-Jacobite message.

A lonely exception was Thomas Ruddiman's Caledonian Mercury, which - during the Jacobite sojourn in Edinburgh - became the vehicle for pro-Jacobite news and propaganda.

It was, however, ministers of the Church of Scotland who formed perhaps the most impressive body of Hanoverian loyalists during the rebellion. This was a fact of no small importance, given their potential influence on opinion across Scotland.

In 1706, it was the opposition of Presbyterian ministers which had threatened the passage of the Union, until their anxieties were allayed by the passage of the Act of Security, guaranteeing the future of the Presbyterian settlement in the



■ Thundering: the '45 gave birth to the Aberdeen Press and Journal newspaper.

Church of Scotland. The full story of ministers' courage and loyalty to the government during the crisis has yet to be told. It embraced, in Highland parishes, collecting intelligence about rebel movements and activities, a role which several continued to play after 1746.

In the parish of Navar in Angus, the minister assembled around 60 of his parishioners to guard the passes against the Jacobites in the lower parts of Angus.

The Commission of the General Assembly, and many lesser bodies of the Church, ordered days of fasting

a traditional response to crises such as poor harvests and the outbreaks of war. They did this even before one was proclaimed by the Court in London for December 18, 1745. Presbyteries and Synods continued to order fasts throughout the crisis as well as days of thanksgiving following the defeat of the rebellion at Culloden.

The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr (Ayr) drew up an anti-Jacobite 'Memorial and Admonition' to be read out by ministers in their pulpits in early October. The Commission of the General Assembly followed with its own warning, several weeks later directing ministers throughout the Church to read it to their



■ Stirling Castle: where the trades lads sought refuge and later formed a Hanoverian volunteer force.

► congregations. Ministers continued also to pray for George II and the royal family by name, even when Jacobite forces were in their towns

Only two ministers appear to have failed to display conspicuous loyalty to the Hanoverians in 1745-46. Thomas Man, of Dunkeld, and another minister from the North East. In the case of Man, he was not prepared to risk the ire of occupying Jacobites by praying for George II by name.

Several ministers also later suffered for supporting the government during the rebellion.

In 1747, the earl of Morton wrote to Henry Pelham, the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in London, about the case of a minister in Orkney who had been the focus of an atrocious riot. The minister's fault was the 'remarkable' zeal he had shown for the government during the '45.

William Brown, minister of Cortachy parish in Angus, was harried from his position in the same year by the local disaffected, and for the same reason. Brown was victim of a malicious allegation that he had fathered an illegitimate child.

The Hanoverianism of the ministers was only surprising in its vigour and extent. In the rebellion of 1715, the Church had also been a major pillar of Hanoverian rule in Scotland. What was different in 1745-46 was that popular opinion appears to have been much more divided than in 1715.

In 1715, the majority of Scots were alienated from the Union and from rule from London. In 1745, opinion in the burghs was often openly hostile to the Jacobites, or at least a section of it. In 1715, the

Jacobites were prepared to hold elections in North-East Lowland burghs, so confident were they of support there. In 1745 they imposed Jacobite governors.

Several burghs saw anti-Jacobite demonstrations during the crisis. Many of these took place on the anniversary of George II's birthday.

the 30th of October. This day was a major political anniversary in early-Hanoverian Scotland, an occasion for burgh elites to display loyalty with the local population.

The most prominent pro-Hanoverian demonstration on October 30, 1745, took place in Dundee and Perth in the face of occupying Jacobite soldiers.

In Perth, the major participants were the maltmen and tradesmen. Events climaxed in clashes with Jacobite soldiers guarding arms stored in the council house. In the attack on the council house a weaver lost his life and several others were injured.

The trades lads were also forced to flee when Jacobite reinforcements arrived next day. They subsequently turned up at Stirling Castle, where they formed a volunteer company.

Even in Aberdeen, in the heart of the Jacobite-episcopal North East, a crowd contested the celebration of Hanoverian and Jacobite political anniversaries. Attempts by the Jacobite governor of Aberdeen to prevent the celebration of George II's birthday were unsuccessful.

The geography of Hanoverianism during the '45 follows closely the geography of Presbyterian strength, although, as we have seen, it was not limited to this. Not surprisingly, it

was the South and South-West, where Presbyterianism had struck the deepest roots, and where Presbyterian Covenanting opposition to James VII and his Scottish ministers had led to rebellion and violent repression, which showed the greatest zeal for opposing the Jacobites.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik later claimed that many in the South and South-West were willing to take up arms in defence of the Hanoverian cause and, as they saw it, the Protestant religion, but lacked leadership.

The committed Hanoverians of 1745-46 were a minority, as were the Jacobites. The majority probably viewed the crisis with indifference or passivity. To them, if it meant anything at all, it meant unwanted disruption and difficulty.

Sadly for the Hanoverians of 1745-46, and for non-Jacobite Scotland, their activities and their bravery counted for nothing in the eyes of London, the Duke of Cumberland and other English leaders. To them, the rebellion confirmed entrenched stereotypes of Scots as a disloyal, untrustworthy, grasping crew. The task of re-taking Scotland as a part of Britain, indeed as 'North Britain', had to begin anew in 1746.

It was a task which many Scots faced, however, with determination and, as the energies of the rebellion began to fade, mounting enthusiasm.

The defeat of Jacobitism was not, in sum, the defeat of the national cause. It was the defeat of one view of this.

TIMELINE

1744

Formal declaration of war between Britain and France. French invasion fleet is dispersed by storms.

1745

On July 23, the '45 Rising begins as Charles arrives in Scotland and the 'Seven Men of Moidart' land at Eriskay.

14 August

Hostilities begin when a party of Hanoverian soldiers are captured.

19 August

Jacobite standard is raised at Glenfinnan. The clans begin to muster.

21 August

Having left Edinburgh, General Cope departs Stirling, headed for Fort Augustus.

27 August

Jacobite army blocks Cope's route to the Great Glen.

31 August

As Cope retreats to Inverness, Jacobites reach Blair Castle, taking Dunkeld a few days later.

4 September

Jacobites take Perth, where Prince Charles declared his father king.

17 September

Jacobites capture Edinburgh, boosting their supplies and morale. The Prince becomes a great attraction.

21 September

Cope's army routed by the Jacobites at Prestonpans. The invasion road south into England is open.



■ George I: first of the Hanoverians and father of George II.



■ The House of Dun at Montrose has perhaps one of the best surviving Jacobite interiors reflecting a culture of heroic tradition

A right song and dance to prime the Jacobite cause

The depths of passion were expressed in everything from painting to poetry, glass ornaments to music. They were expressions of support, useful propaganda and a means of recruitment

The importance of Jacobite culture is central to any understanding of the endurance and depth of Jacobite ideas and sentiments in the 18th century

Some of that enduring quality reached beyond the Jacobite period (1688-1760) itself. During the French revolutionary era, Jacobite songs were sung by radicals in Scotland and Ireland, and later still the forms of the Irish Jacobite song were used in the rebel and republican ballads of modern times

In particular, the Jacobite stress on Ireland as a female nation abused by strangers and delivered from their bondage by violence, has had a grisly afterlife. Irish Jacobite verse usually took the form of a dream-vision of this woman nation – this was the ‘aisling’, or ‘vision’ poetry of the 18th-century Munster poets.

In the 1916 Rising, the Volunteers from Limerick wore the same cap-badge as those Irish who had fought in the Stuart cause in the 18th century, while in the 1980s, Paul Muldoon wrote an ‘aisling’ on the hunger strikes, with the womanisation of Ireland portrayed as ▶

The use of the plaid as a symbol of Jacobite patriotism was one reason why it was banned from the British army after the '45

► 'Anorexia'. There are many other examples of this most disturbing inheritance of Jacobite culture, which is the counterpart of the stress on 'the Boyne' and 'King Billy' in Ulster Unionist mythology.

In Scotland and England, Jacobite culture subsided into sentiment by the early 19th century, but its centrality in the Jacobite period is due to the fact that it is potentially a much better measure of the extent of Jacobite support (particularly in England) than counting the number of those who actually fought in the Risings.

People who will risk their lives and livelihoods for a cause are always in a minority, even in the 18th century, and to understand Jacobitism it is crucial to realize that it operated at a number of levels: Explicit armed support; correspondence and surreptitious support; safe houses and a network to protect Jacobites on the run; art and design, language and literature; toasts and songs.

Jacobite culture begins at a lower (and hence more realistic) common denominator of commitment than does an understanding of Jacobitism based only on armed insurgency.

The major modes of Jacobite culture were literary, artistic, architectural and material. Jacobite literature shared major themes in common throughout the British Isles.

Firstly, the absent monarch was portrayed as a messianic deliverer

■ Prince Charles Edward's silver travelling canteen. The case and wine beakers were made by Ebenezer Oliphant, Edinburgh, 1740-41.

whose return would awaken the land to newness of life (classically or theologically-inclined Jacobites might identify him as the Trojan hero Aeneas or David, king of Israel). Secondly, the absent monarch was presented as a social bandit, a criminal hero who would reverse the laws of the Whig state and restore customary rights.

In this guise, old songs about predatory Highlanders or gypsies who stole away young maidens became recast as songs of deliverance, where the 'Lowland Lassie' (who represents Scotland) is erotically fulfilled and delivered by an armed Highland hero (who represents the Stuart).

Renewed fertility is portrayed, both in Scotland and Ireland and in Gaelic as well as Anglophone (i.e. English or Scots) songs as closely linked to violence.

In a song 'To Daunton Me', from the 1740s (it must be stressed that although Burns, Hogg and Lady Nairne wrote Jacobite songs, the bulk of them date from the Jacobite period), the female speaker tells her audience what would 'wanton' (i.e. erotically excite)

Firstly, she says, it is a Scotland restored from poverty, English taxes and press gangs to fertile plenty ('gude corn upon the rigs'). But the consummation is an image of sovereignty and military power:

*But to wanton me, to wanton me,
D'ye ken whit maist wad wanton me?
To see King James at Edinburgh Cross,
Wi fifty thousand foot and horse,
And the usurper forced to flee,
O that's the thing maist wad wanton me.*

Erotic excitement reaches its pitch with the image of the Stuart at the centre of Edinburgh with a vast army. Fertility, where a restored Scotland will 'leap and dance...', because that the 'curst Union's broke', is close to such military images in many poems and songs.

This is also true of Jacobite architecture and design. Perhaps the best surviving Jacobite interior is that at the House of Dun in Montrose Basin.

Jacobite design is clearly evident in the plasterwork done for the closet Jacobite Lord Dun by Joseph Enzer at the beginning of the 1740s, in a house itself conceived by



■ Wine glasses bearing the anthem and portrait of the exiled Stuarts.

Earl of Mar, who led the 1715 Rising (and for whom the Jacobite-leaning architect Alexander Gibbs designed a home which would celebrate Scotland's traditions of heroism)

Beginning in the saloon, an allegory depicts the Auld Alliance of Scotland and France, the return of the exile from overseas, and an enslaved Scot with an English musket pointing at his heart. As one goes further into the house, there are oak leaves, white roses and the effulgent renovation of flowers and fertility which suggest the glad outcome (for a Jacobite) of the conflict.

Jacobite art and display was not limited to features of interior design. Gardens and grounds were laid out with Jacobite symbols: fir trees, known as 'Charlie trees', were features of some wealthy English Catholic households.

Articles of clothing or personal possessions were also decorated with Jacobite motifs, from reminders of James's claim to sovereignty on garters, to snuffboxes with concealed pictures of Charles Edward.

Tartan was the most widespread

symbol of Jacobite sympathy. The idea that tartan was a symbol of old, traditional and patriotic Scotland dates back to at least the 17th and probably the 16th century. As a result, tartan garters, ribbons and breastknots were worn by women as the counterpart to the uniforming of the Jacobite army (irrespective of origin) in tartan.

The use of the plaid as a symbol of Jacobite patriotism and resistance was one reason why it was banned outwith the British Army after 1745, and why subsequent efforts to rehabilitate it (notably by Sir Walter Scott) stressed its contribution to loyal British military achievement, not Scottish rebellion.

It is, however, ironic to despise tartan because of Sir Walter Scott, because it was an image of Scottish patriotism to be born

Other Jacobite artifacts include fans, teapots, decanters, plaques with the circled names of Jacobite 'martyrs' and tapestries. The National Museum of Scotland has an example of an embroidered wall hanging with a sunflower (symbol of loyalty) and the monograms of





■ A wall hanging in silks and wools with a crown and the cipher 'IRCR, 1719' to mark the marriage of James Stuart and Clementina Sobieska.

James and his wife Clementina Sobieski, with the date of their marriage, 1719

More than 7,000 Jacobite medals (a cheap version of portraiture in an age with no photographs) were issued during the 1690s alone, while Robert Strange's copper plates for Stuart banknotes were avidly collected by sympathizers after Culloden.

Jacobite prints emphasize fecundity and fertility. In one, 'The Agreeable Contrast', Flora MacDonald compels the Prince on the 'Long Table' to suggestively phallicly gaze. In contrast, the elephant which accompanies Cumberland has a pitiful tail.

Flora carries a full basket of flowers, emblems of fertility (as is her name). Whig political cartoonists portrayed the Jacobites as predators and promiscuous.

Contemporary Jacobite glass was also rich in symbolism. Besides the (white) rose and oak leaf, the grub and butterfly are used. The grub may be a sign of the belief that the soul of a Scot who dies abroad returns home underground, as in 'the low road' of 'The Bonnie Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond'.

Daffodils also appear, indicative of spring and hope. Sunflowers, images of loyalty, are also associated with the symbolism of the king as a 'sun' to his people. This is related to Flora MacCunnail, the ancestral Gaelic hero of Scotland and Ireland, whose



■ Good health to the Prince: his medicine chest, brought from France, contained 158 preparations.

badge was the sun. Carnations appear as a pun on 'coronation'.

Anamorphic portraits come into view when the vessel is moved, while on some glasses the crown descends on Prince Charles's head as they are tilted towards the mouth. This makes a convenient symbol for 'Lapping Jacobites', since it hints that drinking the Stuart's health will be enough to restore him!

Jacobite ciphers and symbols in society and the arts were treated seriously enough by the government for agents to be retained to try to decode them at times of crisis.

Unluckily for the Jacobites, the ciphers they used in treasonable correspondence were often simpler and easier to crack than the complex literary and artistic metaphors of

Jacobite culture, some of which were doubtless mood music for armchair Jacobites.

Music itself was very important, for the airs of songs could not form a basis for so-called 'seditious words' prosecutions (because, of course, they made no explicit statement) and yet they gave a clear message to local sympathizers.

Fiddlers and pipers thus reinforced the work of balladeers, chapmen and tinkers in spreading information and Jacobite propaganda. Some government agents claimed thousands of copies of Jacobite propaganda sheets were printed, and it seems the case that ballads and Jacobite music were widely distributed.

The song, 'The Piper o' Dundee'

shows what use could be made of Jacobite music to raise soldiers, and nor were all the pipers Scottish – the Public Record Office has details of Northumbrian Jacobite pipers.

Jacobite culture was thus crucial to pro-Stuart solidarity on a number of levels. Firstly, it provided a mute display of group or family support for the exiles. Secondly, it was a means of social expression (as in drinking-glasses, snuffboxes and so on). Thirdly, it was a means of communication of Jacobite news, material and sentiment. And fourthly, it could be used for recruitment purposes.

Its ambiguity was a political necessity. It also helps to confer enduring value on it as art, and not merely propaganda.

Safeguarding the

The treasure of Scotland is in its proud history, castles, stately homes, gardens, magnificent scenery and industrial past. It is unique and priceless - and in secure hands

NOBODY can convey the extraordinary variety and richness of Scotland's heritage and nowhere is it better shown than in the properties owned and cared for by The National Trust for Scotland.

Founded in 1931, the Trust was established to act as a guardian of Scotland's magnificent heritage of architectural, historic and scenic treasures and to encourage public access to them.

At first, the Trust had no properties and only 32 members. Now it cares for some 120 properties and benefits from the support of more than 228,000 members, making it Scotland's leading conservation charity.

The portfolio of properties ranges from castles and mansions, beautiful gardens and romantic islands to historic battlefields, spectacular mountains and fascinating examples of Scotland's industrial past.

They are all held 'for the benefit



■ The painted chamber in Gladstone's Land on Edinburgh's Royal Mile.

of all' - to be enjoyed by both visitors and each year more than two million people enjoy the treasures on offer.

Many of the Trust's 'Great Houses' encapsulate the organisation's aim to preserve places

of historical interest or natural beauty, the latter being the buildings and structures, gardens and estates which often surround them.

One such example is Culzean Castle, in South Ayrshire, where Robert Adam's castle, built between

glories of Scotland

1772 and 1790 is set in Scotland's first Country Park, comprising 563 acres, and stretching from shoreline to mature park and gardens.

Within each house is an exceptional range of contents, displaying the best of the fine and decorative arts. Fyvie Castle, in the North East, for instance, contains an important collection of portraits including works by Raeburn and Gainsborough, while Brodick Castle, located on Arran, is known for its porcelain and silver collections.

Many give an insight into the lives of the families who have lived in these historic properties through the generations, reminding visitors that they always have been family homes.

It is not unusual to have the feeling of 'stepping back in time' to bygone ages, for example, by experiencing 17th-century life in Edinburgh at Gladstone's Land, 18th-century life in the city's New Town at The Georgian House, or

early 20th-century domestic life in Glasgow at the Tenement House.

Scotland's tumultuous history is reflected in the Trust's properties through the conservation of land which itself has borne witness to historic acts – namely Bannockburn, Glencoe and Culloden. Strenuous efforts have been made to present each site with care and dignity and, where possible, an interpretation centre puts into context the events which have happened there and shaped Scotland's history.

Some of the Trust's more unusual properties – including two mills and a printing works – remind visitors of Scotland's rich industrial heritage.

Records show that a mill has occupied the site of Barry Mill, near Carnoustie, since 1539 and Preston Mill, in East Lothian, continued in commercial use until 1957. Both mills give an impression of what it would have been like to work there, while Robert Smalls' Printing

Works, in the Borders, shows how printing was done at the beginning of this century and even offers the opportunity to try typesetting by hand.

The National Trust for Scotland is the country's largest garden owner with more than 700 acres under intensive cultivation, supporting 13,500 different types of plant.

Almost every style of Scottish garden history is represented. As well as maintaining such historic gardens, the Trust plays an important role in training with its School of Practical Gardening, based at Threave Garden in Dumfries and Galloway, giving invaluable experience to students each year.

Of its gardens, Inverewe in Ross-shire, is probably the Trust's best known. Here, even the location is exceptional, with a setting on a peninsula on the shores of Loch Ewe. Inverewe is an oasis of colour and fertility where exotic plants



■ King Robert Bruce watches over his victory scene at Bannockburn.



From mountains to mills, islands to caves, wildlife to spectacular gardens, the scale of the task is breathtaking

► from many countries flourish. Himalayan rhododendrons and Tasmanian eucalyptus can be found together with plants from Chile, South Africa and New Zealand

Scotland's countryside is renowned for its spectacular and varied scenery, and for the wildlife which lives there. The Trust cares for some of the finest and most important examples of this heritage, and this combination of landscape and wildlife attracts visitors throughout the year.

It is possible to see and enjoy spectacular species - Golden Eagles, massive seabird colonies and red deer

at some properties, while the varied plant life and more familiar animals of the countryside can be discovered at others. There is an

active programme of management for the wildlife and special work is undertaken for wildlife under threat.

The Trust's Rangers are skilled and practical naturalists with a strong commitment to the conservation of the Scottish countryside.

'Conservation Volunteers', who give up time to carry out diverse tasks, such as repairing footpaths and dry stone walls, undertake further practical conservation work.

The largest acquisition in the Trust's history was the 77,500-acre Mar Lodge Estate, part of the core area of the Cairngorm Mountains, which it took into its ownership in April 1995. The main priority on the estate is the conservation of its outstanding natural heritage qualities in harmony with allowing public access and maintaining its traditional sporting use.

As well as owning properties on Scotland's mainland, the Trust also cares for a number of islands. Among these are St Kilda, 110 miles out in the Atlantic and designated Scotland's first World Heritage site in 1987, Fair Isle, situated between Orkney and Shetland and famed for its birdlife and knitwear; and Staffa, with its Fingal's Cave, immortalised by



■ Highland majesty: at Inverewe Gardens.

Mendelssohn in his celebrated 'Hebrides' Overture

Many properties hold special events throughout the year, ranging from craft fairs and concerts to guided walks led by countryside rangers and expert gardeners.

Some also have shops, with a wide range of high-quality Scottish goods, tearooms, cafes and restaurants, and other facilities such as adventure

playgrounds, making them an ideal choice for visits.

The Trust has a network of holiday cottages and apartments, offering unique settings for self-catering holidays.

Holidaymakers can choose from castle locations in Aberdeenshire and spectacular countryside retreats in the north west to seaside settings and for something very special, the Eisenhower Apartment, on the top floor of the spectacular Culzean Castle, offers exclusive accommodation. A colour brochure featuring all holiday accommodation is available.

The Trust advocates life long learning and aims to inform people, of all ages and backgrounds, about the natural and cultural development of Scotland.

Hopefully, with the variety on offer, the National Trust for Scotland has something that can be enjoyed by every visitor or native, and through the Trust's work, Scotland's past can enjoy a secure future. ■

Jilted Jean's spirit took her revenge

The French convent girl died under her heartless lover's carriage. But then she returned...

Towards the end of the 18th century, the estate of Allanbank was owned by the Stuart family. Neither prosperity nor position had eluded this family, Mr Stuart having recently been knighted as first baronet of Allanbank.

It was around this time that the young master made a tour of France and, adding to his good fortune, met a young and beautiful French woman.

Jean was a Sister of Charity and, as such, bound by all the laws of the convent. But so great was her infatuation with Stuart, and so powerful were his powers of persuasion, that she gave up the convent life to be with him.

While she no doubt anticipated marriage, the baronet was only interested in pleasure. Soon he tired of her and left the unfortunate young woman in a most brutal and heartless way, returning to his estate in Scotland.

Soon after Stuart courted and became engaged to a woman of high social position in Scotland.

But the former Sister of Charity was determined Stuart should not be allowed to cast her aside so easily. She had sacrificed everything – she no longer had a home, a position or a vocation. She had nothing except a desire to be revenged.

Jean learned to be more resourceful than she could have imagined. She tracked down her former lover and journeyed to his estate in Scotland. Her timing was less than perfect because she arrived shortly before her cruel and faithless admirer was about to be wedded.

Determined to confront him, she arrived at the entrance of the estate



■ Spooky Allanbank House at Edrom, Berwickshire, was demolished after World War Two.

just as Stuart and his fiance were driving out of the gates.

Jean rushed forward and threw herself onto the front wheels of the coach. She stared inside at the shocked couple. Mr Stuart was stunned into inactivity. Overwhelmed with guilt and some remorse he felt sick and faint.

Stuart glanced at his fiance. She must not know the reason for this apparent outrage. She must not know the truth. Hanging on to the carriage, Jean was about to blurt out the dreadful story of how badly she had been treated when, as the coach turned its first corner, her grip loosened, her dress caught in the spokes, she was dragged downwards and crushed to death under the heavy wooden wheels.

The hauntings began that autumn. Returning home late one night, Mr Stuart saw the dark outline of a human figure perched on the arched gateway of his house, exactly opposite where the former Sister of Charity had perished.

From the window of his coach, he peered at the form as he approached. The figure moved. To his horror he saw that the silhouette was none other than the recently-deceased Jean. There she sat, staring

down at him with lurid eyes full of pain and anguish. Her cheeks were blanched white; her neck and forehead bathed in blood. His gaze upon her was transfixed, the spell only broken when the footman opened the carriage door to allow his master to alight. He flew into the house and spent the rest of the night in abject terror.

From that night he knew no peace. The estate was haunted constantly. The great oak doors of the house were seen or heard to open and close of their own accord almost every night. The rustling of heavy silk dresses and the footsteps of high-heeled shoes were heard in the oak-panelled bedrooms and along the dark and winding passages at the top of the house.

For reasons that have never been explained, Stuart commissioned a portrait of the apparition. When it was completed and hung in the main hall it had no effect on the frequency of the hauntings. Yet when it was suggested the picture be hung between portraits of the now-married couple and this was done, the hauntings stopped.

But it must be assumed that the location of the portrait was seldom between the paintings of the Stuarts

because the ghostly appearances continued for many years.

The sight of the Sister of Charity around the estate was not confined to the baronet. A housekeeper, Betty Norrie, declared that she saw the young woman on many occasions.

In the year 1790, the Stuarts let the house to strangers who knew nothing of the hauntings. However, they did not remain in ignorance for long. Two of the ladies who occupied the same bedroom were awakened in the dead of night by the noise of someone walking across the floor of their room.

The notion that it might be a burglar was soon dispelled by the noisy manner, the restless pacing, the swishing of what sounded like a long train brushing upon the floor. The women were terrified and the restless spirit stayed until daybreak.

There has never been a conclusion to the hauntings of the Sister of Charity. After the death of the Stuarts, she appeared much less frequently. Trusted family retainers continued to testify that Jean appeared to them with no ill effects upon their person or the minds.

Allanbank House was demolished after World War Two, but there are those who swear that Jean, the Sister of Charity, still haunts the area. ■

Beginning of a great march that wasn't



When the Stuart flag was raised, it marked the start of an audacious incursion into England. But the promised Jacobite support was not to be, says biker historian David Ross

After the raising of the standard of the Stuarts at Glenfinnan, the march south began. There is today a visitor centre at Glenfinnan, as well as the older tower surmounted by the statue of a Highlander to commemorate this event, but the actual site where the deed took place is on the opposite side of the River Finn, up by the railway track, where a carved stone marks the spot.

The first action of the '45 took place at Highbridge, where a handful of Jacobites panicked two divisions of Redcoats into flight and capture. The site is marked by a cairn beside the ruined bridge, near modern Spean Bridge. The Highlanders crossed the Corriyairack, following the route of the A9 south. Charles stayed at the Salutation Hotel in Perth – which still trades and boasts a plaque recalling its princely connection.

The Forth was crossed at the Bridge of Frew, and a march was made on Edinburgh, where Charles took quarters at Holyrood Palace. Holyrood is, of course, open to the public and you can walk the corridors and see the rooms that Charles would recognise.

The Battle of Prestonpans was fought at this time. In the town there is a cairn marking the site, and a pyramid-mound, with story-boards on its summit, which offers a magnificent view of the battle area.

The march to the Border continued, the Esk was crossed and Carlisle besieged. During the siege Charles stayed in the village of Brampton, some 10 miles east. His headquarters is now a shoe shop with a plaque on the wall. On the fall of Carlisle, the prince took up quarters in a house that has been replaced by a town-centre Marks and Spencer store.

The Jacobean army continued south, marching along the line of the A6, through Penrith. Charles stayed at what is now the George Hotel. Crossing Shap summit, the army rested at Kendal. Next halt was at Lancaster, and Charles's HQ there is now the Conservative Club in Church Street.

On reaching Preston, the army deliberately crossed the River Ribble, as



■ Glenfinnan tower: monument to Stuart optimism.

no Scots army had ever done this; so it would have been seen as a good omen for the project. Charles stayed in a building in the Strait Shambles, which now lies under the modern Guildhall.

But it was around this time that the truth began to dawn – English Jacobitism failed to translate into active support.

There may have been promises of large-scale support, but when push came to shove, it seems sympathisers in England would rather take the back seat in any attempts to reinstate the House of Stuart.

From Preston, the Jacobites entered Wigan, Charles staying at the Manor House in Bishopsgate. This building has gone, but its replacement bears a plaque. Then came Manchester, where

at least there was some support, and these followers were formed into what became known as 'The Manchester Regiment'.

The army moved on apace, and one can only marvel at the distances covered by men carrying all their weaponry and goods on their backs.

They forded the Mersey at Stockport. Their line of march then took them through Macclesfield, Leek, and on to Ashbourne. Eventually Derby was reached, where the advance guard marched into the town and demanded quarters for 9,000 men.

Charles took up quarters in Exeter House in Full Street. This building has now gone, but its site is marked by an equestrian statue of Charles. In Derby the Jacobites were out of the rolling hills of the north of England and into the softer underbelly of the south. London was little more than 100 miles off.

The advance guard secured the bridge over the Trent at Swarkstone, six

miles south of Derby. It was the furthest point south the army reached. A visit to this bridge today is a cause for contemplation on what might have been. There was panic in London, but false information regarding the strength of forces being set against them was believed by some key Jacobites. The decision was made to retire to Scotland.

At the rate they had travelled so far, a march of four days would have seen the Jacobites in London.

It was only on the retreat, seeing landmarks they recognised, that the rank and file realised they were heading north, not south.

Consternation reigned. If the ordinary clansmen had had their say, they would have marched on to London, and damn any of the forces King George sent against them. ■

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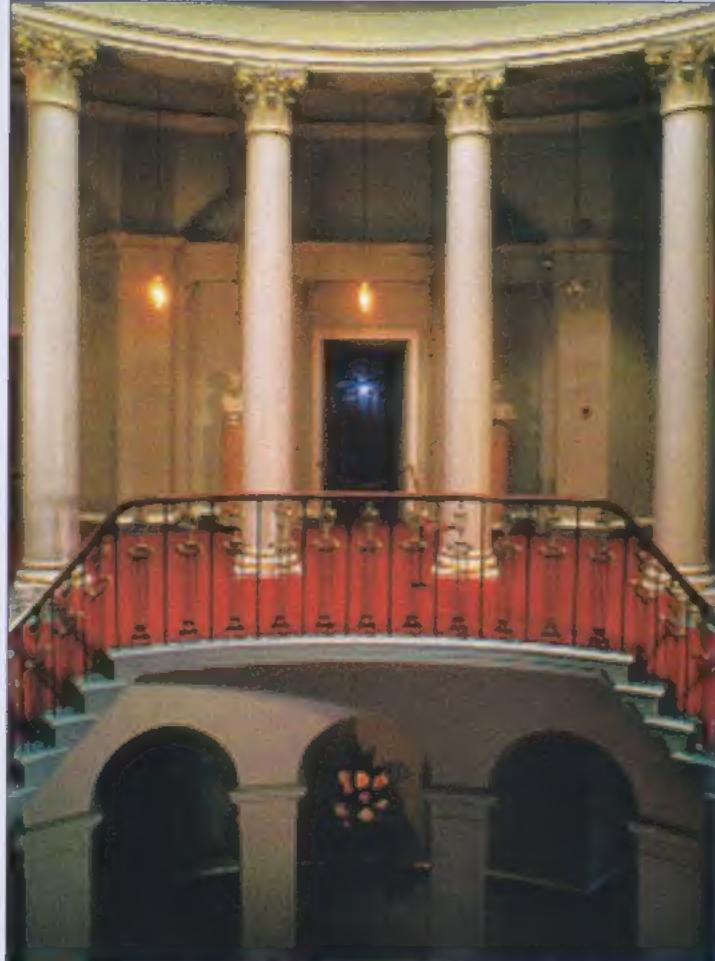
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■ The magnificent Oval Staircase at Culzean Castle, in Ayrshire.

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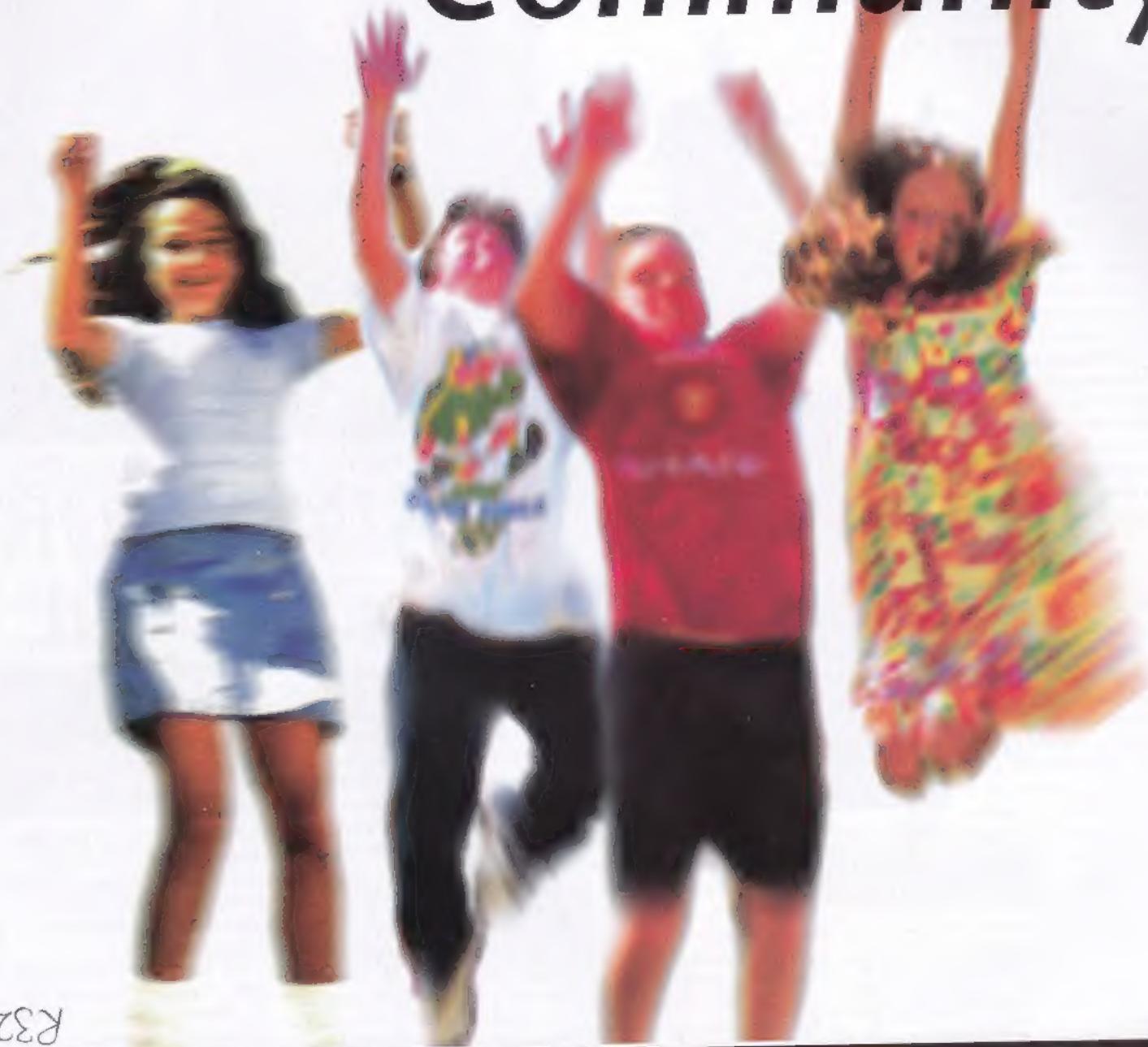
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